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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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PART II., VOLUME XIV.

EDITOR.

WORSHIPFUL CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A., LL.M., M.A.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

1897.

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MEETINGS HELD BY THE SOCIETY, 1895-6, FOR READING PAPERS AND MAKING EXCURSIONS.

1. CARLISLE: Two days' excursion along the Roman Wall.
   Gilsland, Birdoswald, Appletree, Coombe Craig, Lanercost Priory - - Aug. 8, 1895
   Brampton, Hare Hill, Walton, Castlesteads, Newtown, Bleatarn, Stanwix, &c. - Aug. 9, 1895

2. FURNESS ABBEY.
   Furness Abbey, Pile of Fouldrey - - Sept. 23, 1895
   Stainton Hall, Bolton Chapel, Hawkfield, Urswick, Pennington, Lindal, Dalton Church and Castle - - - Sept. 24, 1895

3. PILGRIMAGE ALONG THE ROMAN WALL.
   First Day—Carlisle, Kirkbride (by rail), Bowness, and back to Carlisle - - June 22, 1896
   Second Day—Carlisle, Stanwix, Drawdykes, Bleatarn, Hare Hill, Lanercost Priory, Naworth Castle, Gilsland (by rail) - June 23, 1896
   Third Day—Naworth (by rail), Hare Hill, Coombe Craig, Gilsland, Willowford, *Caervoran*, Walltown Crags, back to Gilsland - - - - June 24, 1896
   Fourth Day—Walltown Crags, Nine Nicks of Thirlwall, *Aesica*, Winshields, Steelrig, Hotbank, Bardon Mill, Gilsland - June 25, 1896
   Fifth Day—Haltwhistle, Housesteads, Tower Tye, Walwick Chesters, *Cilurnum*, Chollerford - - - June 26, 1896
   Sixth Day—Hill Head, *Hunnum*, Halton Castle, Rutchester, *Vindobala*, Heddon-on-the-Wall, Denton Hall, *Condercum*, Newcastle and Wallsend - - June 27, 1896

4. CONISTON: Torver Church, Peel Island - Sept. 10, 1896
   Coniston Old Hall, Broughton-in-Furness, Stone Circle on Swinside, Broughton Tower and Church - - - Sept. 11, 1896

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ART. XVI.—*Church Bells in Leath Ward, No.* 5. *By the late REV. H. WHITEHEAD, Vicar of Lanercost.

RENWICK.

RENWICK Church was anciently rectorial, but was subsequently appropriated to St. Mary's Abbey, York, and in 1539, on the dissolution of the Abbey, was seized by the King. "In 1578 Queen Elizabeth granted it to Lord Lincoln and Christopher Gowffe, with its appurtenances, excepting the advowson, bells, and lead". (Whellan, p. 619).

How many bells it then had we cannot know for certain, as Renwick is one of the parishes the names of which have been torn off from the Cumberland portion of Edward VI.'s Inventory of Church Goods. But very few Cumberland churches, according to the Inventory, had in 1552 either more or less than two bells. *Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Transactions*, vol. viii., pp. 186-204.

The terrier of 1749, signed by "W. Wilkinson, curate", reports "two bells with their stocks thought to weigh about 12 stone"; which estimate of their weight, perhaps formed when they were taken down during the re-building of the church in 1733, is, as will presently appear, wide of the mark.

Whellan (A.D. 1860) says (p. 619): "There are two bells, supposed to be very ancient, one of which bears the

* This paper concludes the Bells of Leath Ward, see *ante p.* 256 *n.* The account of the Renwick Bells was found in manuscript among Mr. Whitehead's papers after his lamented death: those of Skelton and Threlkeld had already been printed in the *Penrith Observer*, and are reproduced from slips corrected by Mr. Whitehead.

inscription

inscription *Ave Sancta Maria.* He probably had his information from Mr. John Watson, p. curate of Renwick from 1832 to 1866, during whose incumbency (in 1844) the church was again re-built. But whoever supplied the information had incorrectly read the inscription.

In 1893 the late Squire Nicolson, patron of the living, presented the church with a new tenor, from the foundry of Messrs. Taylor, of Loughborough, who report its diameter as 18½ inches, weight 1cwt. 1qr. 4lbs., note B, and inscription *Gloria Deo in Excelsis.*

The inscription on the treble, incorrectly reported by Whellan, is the three first words of the Vulgate version of the angelic salutation :

+ AVE · MARIA · GRACIA.

The omission of the fourth word PLENA is due to the smallness of the bell, round the shoulder of which the inscription runs. The letters are floriated Lombardic, the intervening stop a fleur-de-lis, and the initial stamp a floriated cross in a circle within a square, of precisely the same character as the letters, stop, and cross, on the Cumrew treble, which being a larger bell includes the word PLENA in the angelic salutation. The same cross and lettering, but with three roundlets as intervening stop, are found in the following inscription on the second bell at Dacre :

+ IOHANNES : DE KVRKAM : ME : FECIT.

The Renwick and Cumrew trebles, then, are from the same foundry, though perhaps not quite of the same date, as the Dacre bell. The late Mr. Stahlschmidt, one of the most eminent campanologists of his time, in a letter to the present writer, said he was of opinion that the roundlets were a somewhat earlier form of stop than the fleur-de-lis, and he therefore thought that the Cumrew bell

bell may have been cast by a successor of John de Kirkham. In the same letter he gave the valuable information that the Fabric Rolls of York Minster mention John de Kirkham as a York bellfounder in 1371.

The old Renwick tenor, though superseded by the new Loughborough bell, is still, to the credit of all concerned in the matter, preserved in the vestry, where it can be easily examined. Canon Thornley reports its diameter as 18 inches. Its weight, therefore, is about 1cwt. 2qrs.; which in the terrier of 1749 was supposed to be the combined weight ("12 stone") of the two bells. I am also indebted to Canon Thornley for rubbings of their inscriptions, and for the information that they are both long-waisted, which is a sign of antiquity.

The treble I have dealt with above.

The tenor is what is called an "alphabet bell," having the alphabet in Lombardic letters, with the omission of U or V, W, and X, round its shoulder, preceded by a cross identical with that on the treble. The letters also, each of which is on a separate stamp, are of the same character as on the treble. The two bells are therefore from the same foundry, and most likely of the same date. The alphabet, or a portion of it, is found on many bells, *e.g.* on the Bywell treble, Northumberland, on the Houghton-le-Skerne treble, Durham, on several bells in Devonshire, in Rutland, and in other counties. For the alphabet as bell inscription various explanations have been advanced. The late Mr. Ellacombe in his *Devon Church Bells* suggested that it was "probably nothing more than a fancy of the bellfounder to fill up the place usually allotted for a legend, which his employers had not supplied". Such bells, as a rule, "are said to be of great antiquity" (Lukis on *Bells*, p. 30). But they "are also found from the 14th to the 17th century, many of the inscriptions of the 16th and 17th centuries being dated" (*Proceedings of Newcastle Society of Antiquaries*, iv.,

iv., p. 25). The late Mr. T. North said: "It has been suggested that the founders, being desirous not to offend by placing ancient precatory, and therefore often unwelcome inscriptions upon their bells, adopted this plan to escape the difficulty. By it they ornamented their bells with a goodly show of Gothic capitals which could give offence to no one. This may have been the case with the later bells; but the use of the alphabet surely had another origin on the more ancient ones. We find the alphabet or portions of it on encaustic tiles on the floors of churches. It appeared on the top of a Norman font at Severn Stoke in Warwickshire. In the *Pontificale Romanum* the bishop is directed, in the dedication of a church, to write, in the form of a cross, two alphabets, one in Greek and the other in Latin, first from the east to west, and then from north to south. There was clearly some symbolic meaning in the alphabet. Some writers on the subject say the letters represented the beginning and rudiments of sound doctrine, and the simple and pure truths of the Gospel." (*Rutland Church Bells*, p. 80-1). The alphabet in Lombardic letters is also on a very handsome silver-gilt bowl, as well as on its cover, belonging to Studley Church, near Ripon.

The two ancient Renwick bells, even if not cast by John de Kirkham himself, but by a successor, cannot be far short of 500 years old; and what with Henry VIII.'s seizure of the church, Edward VI.'s Commission in 1552-3, Elizabeth's grant in 1578 of most of "the appurtenances" of Renwick Church to Lord Lincoln and Christopher Gowffe, the re-building of the church in 1733 and 1844, and lastly the gift of a new tenor to supersede the alphabet bell, it is a wonder that they have both survived to the present time. But Edward VI.'s commissioners, though enjoined to confiscate all the bells but one of each church, seem from various indications, *e.g.*, the four pre-reformation bells still remaining at Greystoke, two at Burgh-by-Sands, two at Edenhall, two at Distington, two at

Dacre

Dacre, two at Eskdale, two at Waberthwaite, &c., not to have strictly executed their orders, so far as the bells were concerned, probably deterred by fear of offending the parishioners. The same fear may have saved the Renwick bells in 1578; though why bells with inscribed invocations to saints escaped destruction during the Elizabethan crusade against "monuments of superstition" can only be explained on supposition that no one knew what the inscriptions were, which is likely enough, seeing how many custodians of mediæval bells to this day are ignorant of the inscriptions they bear. They probably ran even greater risk during the re-building of the church in 1733 and again in 1844. That they have survived the advent of a new tenor is doubtless due to the increased respect now paid in this diocese, chiefly fostered by the local antiquarian society, to venerable relics of the past, whether ecclesiastical or secular. A few years ago, as might be illustrated by several instances of ancient bells ruthlessly discarded "in part payment" of "a fine steel bell" or a set of "tubular bells," there was in some quarters a lack of sentiment in such matters; and we may welcome the preservation of the ancient Renwick bells as a sign of improved public opinion, and as an example to be followed by all "church restorers".

SKELTON.

Nicolson and Burn, in their history of Cumberland, published in 1777, say:—

The church of Skelton, according to Bishop Nicolson, is dedicated to St. Mary; according to Dr. Todd, to St. Michael. And there seems to be ground for the two different opinions. Upon one of the two bells belonging to this church is an inscription, *Ave* Maria *gratiæ plena;* on the other, *Sancte* Michael *ora pro nobis.* And the difference perhaps may be thus accounted for. When the feast of the dedication of the church (which originally was on the day sacred to the Saint to whom the church was dedicated) happened to be at an

an inconvenient season, as in seedtime or harvest, it became usual to transfer it to the most vacant time in the year, about Michaelmas, when the harvest was got in. And King Hen. 8th's injunctions required all the feasts of dedication to be kept at that season. Hence in many churches, by length of time, St. Michael hath obtained the reputation of the tutelar saint; more churches being supposed to be dedicated to him than to any other saint in the calendar. (N. & B., ii., 386).

On which statement it is to be remarked that, whatever cause there may have been further south, on the ground here alleged, for such transfer of dedication, it would be strange if Michaelmas were selected as likely to be "the most vacant time" in Cumberland. Hutchinson, in 1794, advanced two other hypotheses, suggested by the following entry in Henry VIII.'s Ecclesiastical Survey, commonly called the "Liber Regis":—

Cantaria bte Marie Virginis in Ecclia de Skelton.

He says (vol. i., p. 514):—

It has been conjectured that the uncertainty as to the dedication arose from the method of holding the dedication feast, which might be transfered under the injunctions of Henry VIII. from the summer season to Michaelmas. But the circumstance of the chantry being dedicated to St. Mary gives the probability the other way; and that is strengthened by the dedication of the bells, one being inscribed *Ave Maria gratiæ plena*, the other *Sancte Michael ora pro nobis*; without we conceive the dedication was to St. Michael and St. Mary jointly.

He seems to have supposed that the dedication of the chantry must needs have displaced, or at least have been incorporated with, the dedication of the church. Jefferson. in 1840, follows Nicolson and Burn on the subject of the dedication, quoting them verbatim, except that he speaks of the two ancient bells as *formerly* belonging to the church. (*Leath Ward*, p. 156). Whellan, in 1860, adopting Hutchinson's second hypothesis of a double dedication, says (p. 623):—

Skelton

Skelton church, dedicated to St. Michael and Mary, is an ancient edifice, &c.

Lastly, Canon Venables, in a paper on "Church Dedications in the Diocese of Carlisle," contributed in 1882 to these Transactions (vol. vii, pp. 118—149), reports the Skelton dedication as "double or doubtful"; and referring to Longmarton church, which is dedicated to SS. Margaret and James, he says:—

The double dedication is to be explained by the fact that while the church generally was placed under the patronage of one saint, one of its chantries or aisles had the tutelage of another. . . . The same cause may help us to explain some of the doubtful and contradictory dedications which perplex us in not a few cases. Bacon's "Liber Regis" gives one, the county history of "Burn and Nicolson" another. We know only too well that Bacon's huge quarto is deformed by not a few errors. This, however, is no cause of surprise in a work covering the whole of England and Wales; and, where there is a discrepancy, the authority of the county historians who devoted much care to the subject is preferable. But in some cases this discrepancy is to be accounted for by one giving the name of the church, the other that of the chantry. To determine the true dedication, and to recover the lost dedications, let me venture to recommend to the members of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society an examination of the mediæval wills of the district (*ante*, p. 137).

The hint about the wills is very good advice, the publication in 1893 of the *Testamenta Karleolensia* has made easy to follow. But, as far as the Skelton dedication is concerned, there is still better advice to be given:—"Verify your references". Messrs. Nicolson and Burn, when they undertook to explain away the alleged discrepancy between Bp. Nicolson and Dr. Todd, set on foot an inquiry somewhat akin to the famous question propounded by Charles II. to his courtiers: "Why is a pail of water not increased in weight by the insertion of a fish"? Bishop Nicolson, who visited Skelton in 1704, says (p. 145):—

In

In the Tower there are two pretty good Bells: on the larger whereof is *Sancte Michael* (ye Church's Saint) *ora pro nobis;* and on the lesser, *Ave Maria gracia plena.*

Thus, after all the pains that have been taken to account for the "different opinions" of the bishop and Dr. Todd on the subject of the Skelton dedication, it turns out that those eminent antiquaries were both agreed that "ye church's saint" was S. Michael; *i.e.*, unless the local historians, who misquoted Bp. Nicolson, have also misquoted Dr. Todd, attributing to each the other's opinion. Unfortunately Todd's MS. history of the diocese of Carlisle, to which Nicolson and Burn had access in 1777 (N. & B., vol. i, p. iii), is now missing (*ante* ii, p. 122); but it was probably seen by Browne Willis, who, in 1727, acknowledging his obligation to his "learned friend Dr. Todd" for information on Cumberland matters (*Survey of English Cathedrals*, i, 486), assigns the dedication of Skelton Church to St. Michael.

The two ancient bells are no longer extant. All that can be said, therefore, as to their probable age is that it is evident from their inscriptions that they were of pre-Reformation date. It is also certain that they were the only bells here when Edward VI.'s commissioners reported as belonging to Skelton, "ij prche belles."

In their place are now two bells, each 23½ inches in diameter, and therefore each weighing about 1 cwt 3½ qrs. One of them, from the Whitechapel Foundry, is inscribed, C & G MEAR LONDON FOUNDERS 1844. The other, cracked and disused, bears the initials R.A, with the stamp of a bell between, the date 1717 above, and the word "Wiggan" below. This bell, like the Dalston tenor, dated 1704, the Kirkbampton tenor, dated 1705, and the two Melmerby bells, dated 1715, is from the foundry of the Ashtons of Wigan, for an account of which see *ante* vol. xiii, p. 213-4.

The

The date of the Wigan bell, Skelton, shews that of the two mediæval bells, seen by Bp. Nicolson in 1704, one must have disappeared before 1717. Yet Nicolson and Burn in 1777, and Hutchinson in 1794, neglecting to verify their references, assumed that both the ancient bells were still in the tower. Jefferson, writing in 1840, whilst falling into the opposite mistake of assuming that both had disappeared, incidentally supplies the correction to his statement. He says :—

> The two bells now in the tower are modern; one of them bears an inscription in Latin. (*Leath Ward*, p. 161.)

The bell with a Latin inscription was doubtless one of the mediæval pair, and remained until superseded by the Whitechapel bell in 1844. Whellan, to complete the series of mistakes, speaking of Skelton church tower in 1860, says (p. 623) :—

> It contains two bells, one of which bears a Latin inscription.

It was not in Whellan's power to quote an inscription which no longer existed. But Jefferson might as well have quoted it, and thereby have let us know which of the two ancient bells it was that survived to his time.

By the way, as to quoting, Nicolson and Burn, as well as Hutchinson, besides misquoting Bishop Nicolson in the matter of the dedication, presumed to correct his Latin by substituting *gratiæ* for *gracia* in the inscription on the "Ave Maria" bell. The bishop, no doubt, was right; since the angelic salutation, when it occurs in bell inscriptions, invariably follows the text of the Vulgate.

Bishop Nicolson had a habit of copying inscriptions; yet, often as he mentions the bells of the churches which he visited, at only two other places besides Skelton, viz.: Edenhall (p. 58) and Penrith (pp. 152-3), did he record the

the bell inscriptions. This may be partly accounted for by the circumstance of most Cumberland church bells, hung in cots on gables, being difficult of access; and, if he did not explore the belfries of such church towers as Greystoke, Dacre, Burgh-by-Sands, Scaleby, Crosthwaite, &c., it could only have been for want of time, as he must have been fully occupied with the amount of work he evidently got through in each parish, and often in more than one parish on the same day. It is well, however, that he found time to copy the legends in the Skelton tower, as he thereby did a twofold service to Cumberland campanology. He has confirmed the probability that in Cumberland none of the church bells were confiscated by Edward VI.'s commissioners. Moreover he has supplied an additional instance of what seems to have been the Cumberland rule of dedicating a bell to the tutelar saint of the church. It was formerly supposed by campanists that such was anciently the rule throughout England. But Mr. Stahlschmidt, in a paper on "Mediæval Bell Inscriptions". (*Antiquary*, vol. xiii., pp. 213-5), has shown cause for believing that it was by no means the rule in the southern counties. Admitting, however, that Cumberland appears to favour the traditional theory, he says (*ib.* p. 215):—

> It would be curious if it should turn out that North and South generally presented contradictory views: it would seem like it at present.

The Cumberland examples, as yet known, in favour of the rule are Aikton, Burgh-by-Sands, Cumrew, Edenhall, Eskdale, Greystoke, Skelton, and Threlkeld. An apparent exception to the rule is Langwathby, where the treble bears the angelic salutation, while the church, according to Bacon, is dedicated to St. Peter. Another apparent exception is Scaleby (*ante* vii., p. 231), where the church is

is dedicated, according to all book authorities, to "All Saints", and the treble bears the angelic salutation. Mr. John Sutton, of Scaleby, writing to me about twelve years ago, said :—

We were formerly under the impression that the church was dedicated to St. Bartholomew, and the tithes, or Easter offerings, were formerly paid on St. Bartholomew's Day. Latterly, however, it has been attributed to All Saints and St. Mary. How these variations have occurred I cannot say.

The claim for St. Mary was probably originated by some explorer of the belfry. The true dedication is doubtless All Saints. But this does not necessarily establish an exception to the supposed rule of Cumberland bell dedication; for at Scaleby, as also at Langwathby there is a blank treble, which, if of later date than the tenor, may have had a predecessor with dedication identical with that of the church. An unquestionable exception, however, is supplied by Renwick (*ante* p. 259.)

At Skelton there is the usage of the early Sunday morning bell at 9 o'clock.

SKIRWITH.

There are here three bells, cast in 1858, at the Whitechapel foundry, by Mears and Stainbank, to whom I am indebted for the following particulars:

No.	Note.	Diameter.	Cwt.	qr.	lb.
1	D	2ft. 6in.	5	0	5
2	C	2ft. 8in.	6	0	13
3	B♭	2ft. 11in.	7	2	13

Skirwith, a township of Kirkland parish, was constituted

a

a separate ecclesiastical district in 1859. Its church, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, was founded by W. Parker, Esq., of Skirwith Abbey, who also gave the bells.

THRELKELD BELLS.

The Threlkeld church terrier of 1749, written and signed by "Alex: Naughley, Curate", has this entry:—

> Item. Two Bells with their Frames ye greater 15 inches in Diameter at mouth and ye lesser 14 inches on which is this inscription. *Ave Maria gracia plena.*

which entry, as terriers go, is somewhat peculiar. But Alexander Naughley was a peculiar man. Hutchinson says of him:—

> Here he remained fifty-one years, without ever seeking or accepting of any other promotion; for here alone, as he used to say, he was in his element, because his peculiarities did not at all diminish the respect of his parishioners. For many years he added something, but it could never be much, to his church revenue of 12£ a year, by teaching astronomy, navigation, mensuration, and other branches of the mathematics. He was also great in reputation as a classical scholar. In his modes of living he was eccentric and careless beyond example. (*History of Cumberland*, vol. 1, p. 423).

With the peculiarities of his "modes of living" we are not now concerned. But it may be noticed as characteristic of a teacher of mensuration that, whereas the clergy of this diocese were required by Chancellor Waugh to report in the terriers of 1749 the weights of their bells, Mr. Naughley contented himself with reporting the diameters. In so doing he displayed sound judgment. Many a terrier of 1749 contains but a haphazard guess at the weights of the bells. Some altogether shirk the question. The Cumwhitton terrier, as if in protest against any such question

question, says boldly: "We know not their weight". The chancellor himself seems to have discovered that he had made an unreasonable demand, since in the terrier of Caldbeck, of which parish he was rector, he abstained from answering his own question. Mr. Naughley alone had the sagacity to perceive that the best thing to be done under the circumstances was to report the diameters. He was doubtless aware that the weight of a bell might be approximately known from its diameter, but had no bell-founder's catalogue at hand to consult for the rule by which the ratio of weight to diameter was determined. So he furnished information which had not been asked for, but which was really the best answer that could be given to the question proposed by the chancellor. Another piece of information which had not been asked for was supplied by his report of the inscription on the treble. The chancellor, if he read the Threlkeld terrier, must have felt that he would have done well to take counsel with Mr. Naughley as to the questions to be asked. But the majority of the clergy would not have been pleased at being directed to report the inscriptions on their bells, most Cumberland church bells being difficult of access, and ancient inscriptions not always easy to read. Even Bishop Nicolson, zealous and able antiquary though he was, and especially keen after inscriptions, seems to have seldom got to close quarters with the bells. At Threlkeld he could not have had much time to spare, having on the same day (Oct. 9, 1703) to visit "Grisedale." Moreover the bells in his time may have been hung in a gable cot, so that he could only see them from the churchyard. He merely says in his Notes (p. 108):—"They have two little Bells". The church was rebuilt in 1777 (*Whellan* p. 553). It has now a small tower, which however is by no means easy to scale. My own experience of Threlkeld church tower was on this wise. I got as far as the first upper chamber, when immediately I found myself

myself subsiding through the floor, which as soon as I stepped on to it gave way, and I was only saved by the joists from a fall to the basement. From this chamber to the belfry the ascent has to be continued by means of an unattached ladder; but, the ladder being awkward to handle in a very confined place, I failed to adjust it, and had to relinquish my attempt to reach the bells. The then rector, the Rev. J. Brunskill, on another occasion, however, has scaled the tower, measured the diameters of the bells, taken a rubbing of the inscription on the treble, and kindly furnished me with the results of his labours.

The weights we reckon from the diameters as reported by the rector:—

Treble, diameter 17 inches, weight about 1¼ cwt.
Tenor, diameter 19 inches, weight about 1¾ cwt.

These diameters, it will be seen, do not tally with those given by Mr. Naughley. Yet that at least the treble is the same as in 1749 is evident from the fact that round its shoulder, with cross, lettering, and fleur de lis as intervening stops, all of precisely the same character as in the Cumrew treble and the old Renwick tenor, with the letter N reversed as at Cumrew, runs the angelic salutation, viz:—

+ AVE · MARIA · GRACIA · PLENA.

It is therefore a York bell, from the foundry of JOHANNES DE KVRKAM, and about 500 years old.

The tenor is blank, and therefore of very uncertain date. But Mr. Brunskill describes it as seeming older than the treble. Similar blank bells, thought to be very old, are found elsewhere in Cumberland. It is to be hoped that they may some day come under the notice of experts, who

who may be able to confirm or disprove their supposed antiquity.

Meanwhile we may regard the "two little bells" of Threlkeld as characteristic, in number and dimensions, of the bells possessed from time immemorial by many a Cumberland church. Of 111 Cumberland churches, reported on by Edward VI.'s commissioners in 1552, as many as 76 had only two parish bells; and that these with few exceptions were small is to be inferred from the almost total absence of the epithet "great" in the description of them, as well as from the average dimensions of those that still remain. In many other counties most of the churches in 1552 had three or four "belles"—some had more—and those "gret". In which counties, for that very reason, ancient bells are now scarce. When change-ringing came in with the 17th century, to meet the requirements of which additional bells were needed, it was found cheaper to increase the number of a peal by recasting, say, four heavy bells into six lighter, than to add two new trebles; and so the old bells were mostly consigned to the furnace. In Cumberland, on the other hand, which in 1552 had but four peals of three bells, and not more than two of four, and a century later only two peals of five, the change-ringing movement took but little hold. Thus it happened that one of the two mediæval peals of four, at Greystoke, to this day remains intact. The other, at Carlisle, augmented to five in 1608, had to submit in 1658 to the recasting of three of its ancient members during its transformation into a "tuneable" ring of six. The 76 mediæval pairs of mostly small bells the movement did not at all affect. Other causes, however, such as wear and tear, fall of tower and cot, cracks occasioned by ringing with cord attached to clapper, have operated to thin the ranks of the veterans; and the survivors, now confronted by a foe more formidable than any yet mentioned, seem likely to disappear before the advancing tide of "church restoration". But

But what, it may be asked, is to be done with a bell too cracked to be heard with pleasure, or too little to be heard at all beyond a few hundred yards? Well, if such be its case, take it down, and put up what you please in its stead. But pay it the respect due to a venerable relic. In the porch of the old church at Chelsea may be seen a bell on which is an inscription relating that it was presented by a man who having lost his way at night was guided back to his home by the Chelsea curfew. This mode of dealing with an ancient bell, when sentenced for whatever reason to disuse, we commend to all whom our advice may reach as a precedent which they will do well to follow.

ART. XVII.—*The Bells of Brigham, Cockermouth, Crosthwaite, Distington, and Holm Cultram.* By the late REV. H. WHITEHEAD, Vicar of Lanercost.

BRIGHAM.

The ancient tower of Brigham church contains three bells:

No.	Note.	Diameter.	Weight.
1	F ♯♯	22½ in.	2½ cwt.
2	D ♯♯	23½ in.	2¾ cwt.
3	D ♯♯	27½ in.	4½ cwt.

The note of the middle bell, one would think, should be E; but a competent jury has returned a verdict of D sharp.

The treble has round its shoulder, in Roman capitals and Arabic numerals, this inscription:—

A R [] 1711 ROGER FLEMING VICAR.

The tenor has

A R [] 1711 PEACE & GOOD NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Between the initials A R and the date, on both treble and tenor, is the stamp of a bell.

Mr. Roger Fleming, whose name is on the treble, son of Sir Daniel Fleming, of Rydal Hall, Westmorland, Kt, and brother of Sir George Fleming, Bart, bishop of Carlisle from 1734 to 1747, "was born at Rydal Hall March the ffirst 1670 and was inducted vicar of Brigham May the 1st 1705" *(Brigham Parish Register).* A memorial tablet in the vestry states that he was "vicar of the parish 32 years and

and entirely beloved by his parishioners". He seems, from the way in which he kept the register and posted up the churchwardens' accounts, to have been a careful and methodical man. There is nothing further to notice concerning him except that he was the only one of four successive vicars who abstained from scratching his name or initials on the communion cup *(Church Plate in Carlisle Diocese*, p. 103). He took the more dignified course of handing down his name to posterity on a bell.

The initials and stamp on the treble and tenor are those of the celebrated founder Abraham Rudhall of Gloucester. The Gloucester foundry, when it came into his hands about the year 1684, had been in active operation for more than three centuries, and it was held by his descendants down to 1830, when it was fused into the foundry at Whitechapel (Ellacombe's *Devonshire Bells*, p. 62). Mr. Lukis, speaking of Rudhalls, says:—"Everything connected with their castings exhibits care and attention, and shews that the foundry in all its departments was well looked after" *Archæological Journal*, xxvii, 422). The tenor at Pilton, 52½ cwt., in D, by Abraham Rudhall, dated 1712, "is considered one of the finest bells in England" (*Devonshire Bells*, p. 63). The seventh bell at Pilton, also by Abraham Rudhall, has the same inscription as the Brighton tenor: PEACE & GOOD NEIGHBOURHOOD. Mr. Ellacombe says of the Rudhalls:—"They must have been been of that class of Englishmen called good 'Church and State people', for nearly all their bells bear good wishes for the one and the other" (*ib.*, p. 62). Amongst other noble specimens of Abraham Rudhall's handiwork are the bells of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, for which church he cast a ring of ten in 1710, increasing them to twelve in 1718; on which "the first peals of nine, eleven, and twelve are said to have been rung" (*Bell News*, vol. ii, p. 423). In 1726 he cast twelve for St. Martin's in the Fields, Charing Cross; which, Buckingham

ingham Palace being in the parish, have the honour of being "the first to proclaim any occasion of rejoicing in connection with the royal family" (*ib.* ii, 463). His epitaph in Gloucester cathedral runs thus:—"Abraham Rudhall, bell founder, famed for his great skill, beloved and esteemed for his singular good nature and integrity, died January 25, 1735, aged 78".

The middle bell at Brigham has round its shoulder—in Lombardic floriated letters, one of which (U) is upside down, and another (S) reversed, with a figure somewhat resembling the letter S reversed as initial or founder's stamp, and a diamond as intervening stop—the following inscription:—

[| SANCTUS - MICHAEL - ORA - PRO - NOBIS.

This is a brass bell, and of course mediæval. Edward VI's commissioners reported as belonging to Brigham church in 1552.

iij prche belles one santus bell.

The late Mr. Isaac Fletcher, M.P., F.R.S., in his valuable and interesting paper on Brigham Church, says:—"The opening for the sanctus bell will be observed in the east gable above the string course" (*Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Transactions*, iv, p. 157). He must mean the "squint" in the east wall of the tower, as there is no opening anywhere else apparently intended for a bell. The "iij prche belles", one of which must have been our "Sanctus Michael", were of course in the tower, and were probably placed there at the same time. When was that time? Perhaps we may find some clue to it in the history of the church. The tower, the lower part of which is "very strongly vaulted with stone, access being obtained to the chamber above by means of a narrow stair, reminding one in this respect of the fortified churches of the

the border" (*ib.*) is assigned by Mr. Fletcher to "*circa* 1220". No doubt, as soon as erected, it had bells; which, in addition to their ecclesiastical uses, served a very necessary secular purpose, as "fray bells", in a fortified Cumberland church. But whatever bells the tower originally contained doubtless disappeared when "in the year 1315 King Robert Bruce with the Black Douglas invaded and laid waste the whole district from Cockermouth to St. Bees, plundered the monastery at the latter place, destroyed the manor houses of Cleator and Stainburn, and laid violent hands on all the moveable property in the little religious establishment and church at Brigham, Askew's *Cockermouth*, p. 21). For a few years the church probably remained in a desolated condition. But "between 1320 and 1330 the south Norman aisle was pulled down without disturbing the arcade, and in its place a beautiful Decorated aisle was built, in which a chantry was founded by the then rector, Sir Thomas de Burgh" (*C. and W. Transactions*, iv, p. 160). This rector, Mr. Fletcher considered, was probably "a member of one of the ennobled families of Clanricarde and Mayo", and possibly identical with the Sir Thomas de Burgh mentioned in Burke's Peerage as appointed in 1331 Lord Treasurer of Ireland (*ib.* 151). He founded and endowed the chantry, which he dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, with the moiety of Brigham, given to him by Anthony, Lord Lucy, of Cockermouth, to whom it had been granted by the king for his valour in arresting Harcla, Earl of Carlisle, who was tried for treason and hanged in 1322 (*ib.*, 150). On the death of Sir Thomas de Burgh "in 1348 Thomas de Lucy with all formality appointed Sir John de Hooton chaplain to the chantry, and took proper security for the safe custody of the valuable property belonging to it" (p. 166). An indenture, in Norman French, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, made in 1348 between Thomas de Lucy and Sir John de Hooton, has been translated

lated by the Rev. T. Lees, F.S.A. It "witnesseth that these things underwritten were left in the chapel by Sir Thomas de Borough the founder thereof in honour of God, and his sweet mother, there to remain for ever" (p. 173). From the "things underwritten" it appears that the chantry was very richly endowed with all manner of ecclesiastical furniture, of which the following are but a few items:—

A chalice of silver gilt a chafing dish of gilt copper a bell of good silver of XXXs weight two silver cruets one silver censer a brass bell a pome in the aumbry well hooped with a gilt plate with settings of emeralds pearls and diamonds with a chaplet of coral with the gaudays of silver gilt an Agnus Dei a crown for the head of our lady of silver gilt with xviij great pearls two saphires vj great diamonds.

The "bell of good silver", of course the sacring bell, rung at the elevation of the host, would be in the chantry. The "brass bell," doubtless bearing the name of Virgin Mary, to whom the chantry was dedicated, would be in the tower. But Sir Thomas de Burgh, who gave it and so much other valuable property to the chantry, would be sure to take care that the tower was provided with other brass bells for the use of the church; one of which would bear the name of St. Bridget, the church's patron saint. We seem, then, to be able to account for two of the "iij prche belles" found here by Ed. VI's commissioners; and the third would be the brass bell, dedicated to St. Michael, which still remains in the tower. At Greystoke, where there was an altar in the church to St. Katherine, there was and still is the bell "Katherina" in the tower. There may have been anciently an altar to St. Michael in Brigham church. But, whether there was or not, if the name of a third saint was wanted for one of the bells, we need not be surprised that the choice fell on St. Michael. Mr. Venables, in his paper on "Church Dedications in the Diocese of Carlisle", says:—"The dedication to St. Michael

Michael is one of the most frequent in England and Wales. It has been asserted on competent authority that there are more churches dedicated to St. Michael than to any other saint in the calendar. It stands high in the list in this diocese with no fewer than 27 churches" (*C. and W. Transactions*, iv, 133). This bell, if put up by Sir Thomas de Burgh, is about 560 years old; which estimate of its age is quite in accord with its appearance and character.

The chantry "bell of good silver of xxxs weight" had evidently disappeared before 1552, the Brigham inventory for which year (6 Edward VI) presents a remarkable contrast to that of 1348. Some of the items are torn off from the original MS., now in the Public Record Office; but whatever the missing items may be supposed to have been, the goods were few enough :—

Benghame { Itm one chales of silver . .
vestements ij tunycles ij . .
iij prche belles one santus bell

The Act for the dissolution of chantries was passed in 37 Henry VIII, 1545; but was only partially carried out during the short remainder of his reign, as he died January, 1547-8. But what Henry began, his son, or his son's advisers, fully executed; and if the goods of Brigham chantry did not go into the treasury of Henry VIII, they certainly found their way into that of Edward VI, and in one of the earlier years of his reign.

The "santus bell" would survive even the confiscations of 7 Edward VI, 1553, from the operation of which the "saunce belles" were expressly exempted, and would disappear, as a "monument of superstition", in the reign of Elizabeth.

The "brass bell" of the chantry, hanging in the tower, and therefore doubtless regarded as one of the "prche (parish) belles", would escape confiscation under the Act for dissolution of chantries; and, for reasons which we have

have explained in previous papers, would remain, together with its two companions, unmolested by the commission of 1553.

They all three probably remained in the tower until the incumbency of Mr. Roger Fleming; to whose posting-up of the churchwardens' accounts we are indebted for much information concerning the bells and other matters relating to Brigham church. This duty he began to discharge in 1709, not gratuitously, however, but for a well-earned recompence, as shewn by the following annually recurring entry:—

Paid Mr. ffleming for Drawing Presentments Copying the Register washing the Surplices and other Lening and taking and Booking these Accnts, 00 10 0.

In the year 1710-1 we have these entries:—

	£	s.	d.
Itm one day meeting about the Bells	00	00	6
Itm for helping down with the Bells	00	01	0
Itm pd Joseph Midleton towards the Bells.....	01	00	0

The first two of these items are repeated six times, once for each of the churchwardens representing the six townships of the parish; from which it would seem to have been the duty of the churchwardens to help in taking down the bells. Similar entries, however, are often found in old churchwardens' accounts, relating to work of a kind in which it is unlikely that each of several men of different occupations could be of any use whatever. It is not improbable, then, that such items indicate a sort of perquisite to churchwardens for looking on whilst someone else did the work. The man who was employed to take down the Brigham bells was evidently Joseph Middleton, and the wording of the item "*towards* the bells" is explained in the accounts for the following year, 1711-2, when Joseph Middleton, being himself in that year churchwarden for Brigham township, records:— Itm

Itm to John Kendal Matt Ashley and myself wch was in arrear for carrying to Kendal 2 Bells to be cast, bringing them againe and hanging them and yt at home in whole wheels, 5 15 0.

No doubt they had previously been rung, or rather chimed, with half wheels, as all bells were chimed before the introduction of change-ringing at the beginning of the 17th century. Here let us note that the two bells taken to Kendal were not taken there, as Mr. Fletcher says, "to break" (*C. and W. Transactions*, iv, p. 169), but "to be cast", and that Joseph Middleton speaks of "bringing them againe"; from which we gather that the present treble and tenor contain the metal of two of the three ancient bells. The reason why they were recast, with other information, is supplied in the following entries:—

	£	s.	d.
Paid the Bellfounder for Casting two Bells.....	16	09	7
For his coming over to see the sound one....	01	00	0
To the Saxon at Kendal	00	01	0
For Stepps to the Bells	01	00	0
For six days working about the Bells	00	09	0
That day the Bells was hung up	00	10	6

From the mention of the third bell as "the sound one" it is to be inferred that the two other bells were recast because they were cracked. But if the note of the "sound one" was then as now D sharp, why did not the bell-founder, having come over to see it, recast the two cracked bells as C sharp and E, instead of D natural and E sharp? The probability is that the original note of "Sanctus Michael" was E, and has since 1711 been changed to D sharp by a slight crack, now perceptible in the waist of the bell.

Mr. Fletcher is doubtless right in saying that "half a guinea 'the day the Bells was hung' clearly points to a copious libation in celebration of the event" (*ib.* iv, 169). He may also be right in suggesting that the fee of one shilling

shilling " to the Saxon at Kendal " was " a complimentary donation from the churchwarden for showing him over Kendal church during his visit " (*ib*), except that Joseph Middleton was not yet churchwarden when he took the bells to be recast at Kendal.

It may be asked : How came the initials and stamp of Abraham Rudhall of Gloucester on bells cast or recast at Kendal ? The explanation is this : that in those " old times of bad roads and few means of conveyance, when a bell had to be recast, it was often found easier and cheaper to bring the founder to the bell than to send the bell to the founder " (Tyssen's *Sussex Bells*, p. 45). Of course it is unlikely that Abraham Rudhall came himself to Kendal on this occasion. No doubt he sent one of his foremen. Perhaps he had several orders to execute for Cumberland and Westmorland, and chose Kendal as a central place, where to set up a temporary foundry. It may have been his custom to send a man occasionally into this or that distant country, and to cause it to be made known that a foreman from the famous Gloucester foundry would be ready for a few weeks or months to execute any orders that might be sent to him. A passage in Mr. Moser's paper on Kendal Parish Register may throw some light on the reason of Mr. Rudhall's choice of Kendal as a centre for his operations in these countries :—" It appears that in olden times Kendal Church had certain workshops and outbuilding connected with it. . . . Amongst other things it possessed a bell house, which was let out (when not required for church purposes) to one of the parishioners. The house was used for repairs of the clock and bells " (*C. and W. Transactions*, iii, 57). This, in all probability, was the place to which the two Brigham bells were taken by John Kendal, Joseph Middleton, and Matt Ashley, to be recast in 1711.

Matthew Ashley was appointed parish clerk in 1715, the churchwardens and inhabitants agreeing " to collect for

for him the sum of twopence a Reek or family, about Easter for his wages, so long as he performs his duty therein as he ought to do". He was also at the same time appointed sexton, and had to "keep the church clean and decent, and the churchyard free from stones". His name occurs in connection with so many matters that it is rather strange he never rang the bells. On one occasion, however, in 1757-8, he is reported as mending them.

His predecessor as clerk, Edward Wilson, had been one of the ringers, and was succeeded in 1715 by William ffawcett, whose mates for several years were John Dodshun and John Grindal. Their wages rose gradually from 6s. in 1711-2 to 13s. 4d. each in 1714-5. In 1716-7 there occurs for the first time an entry of this kind:—

Ale for the Ringers upon Rejoicing days, 00 02 00.

In the next year, 1717-8, there is no such entry. But in 1718-9, John Grindall being then one of the churchwardens, it reappears; from which it would seem as if Grindal came in on the question of drink for the ringers. Once in, he managed to stay in for five successive years. He was the warden for Brigham township, and, as such, according to what seems to have been the rule at that time, should have received the balance due to the incoming wardens, and acted as treasurer; but, for some unexplained reason, during his five years of office, the balance was always handed over to the warden of one of the other townships. To restore to the Brigham churchwardenship its lost precedence required the interposition of no less a potentate than the parish clerk. Accordingly, 1723-4, Matthew Ashley ousted Grindal, succeeding him as warden of Brigham township, and receiving the balance. On the expiration of his year of office, having restored the old order of things, Mr. Ashley gracefully made way for John

John Middleton, handing over to him the balance of £3 14s. 0d. Grindal, however, who had only been scotched, not killed, regained his position as churchwarden in 1726-7; at the end of which year, as if exhausted by this last effort, he finally disappeared, not only from the office of churchwarden, but also from the belfry, and even from the parish. "Long lost to view at length our man we trace" in the Brigham register:—

> 1750:—John Grindal of Goose Taile in the parish of Workington, ffarmer, April 30, buried.

Meanwhile, as Lord Beaconfield used to say, "many things had happened". Matthew Ashley had been five more times churchwarden, taking precedence and receiving the balance even when elected, in 1731-2, for Whinfell township. Mr. Roger Fleming had been succeeded by Mr. Joseph Dixon: successive ringers had come and gone; but one thing still went on:—

> 1750, Ale for ye Ringers 6 states day ringing, 0 4 0.

In the entries relating to this matter there is nothing particularly noticable, except in those for the year 1746-7, which are given with exceptional fulness of detail:—

	£	s.	d.
2 Quarts of Ale for ye Ringers at Jno Sibsons	0	0	6
Ale to ye Ringers at Jno Harris	0	2	0
Ale to ye Ringers at Tho Whites	0	2	6

From which it appears that the ringers, their ale being paid for out of the church rate, had to be careful not to allow any one ratepaying publican to enjoy a monopoly of their patronage; on which point Mr. Ellacombe quotes ringers as saying: "We never could give satisfaction to the publicans: if we went to the Red Lion we offended the

the landlord of the White Hart" *Devonshire Bells*, p. 467). It may be thought that John Sibson would be likely to take offence at only two quarts of ale being drunk at his house, while as many as eight quarts were drunk at the house of John Harris, and that even John Harris may have wanted to know why two quarts more were supplied to the ringers by Thomas White than by himself. But, if the ringers favoured White to the detriment of Sibson, and though to less extent, of Harris, the churchwardens stepped in to make things exactly square between Harris and White, nevertheless offending both by superior favour accorded to Sibson :—

	£	s.	d.
Ch: Wardens at Jno Sibsons	0	3	0
Ch: Wardens again at Jno Sibsons	0	3	0
Ch: Wardens meeting at Tho Whites when distributing ye Poor Money being ye 3rd of ffeb	0	3	0
Ch: Wardens meeting at Jno Harris when choosing new Ch: Wardens	0	3	6

One result of the "meeting at Jno Harris," which must have been the Easter vestry meeting, was that Thomas White and Joseph Harris, presumably a relative of the landlord, were among the churchwardens elected for the ensuing year. What consequences, on the ale question, resulted from this election we are unable to trace, since never again do the accounts supply the necessary data for examining in detail the distribution of patronage. A considerable acquaintance, however, with the churchwardens' accounts of other parishes enables us to state that in many places it was formerly a common practice to hold vestry meetings at a public house, and that the house varied according as this or that publican figured among the churchwardens. It was not merely the amount of ale consumed at vestry meetings that was the prize to be won. It was rather that the house where they were held became during

during the landlord's term of office the centre of parochial life.

But to return to the belfry, in which at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century signs appear of some disorder, now and again only two bells in use, a ringer absenting himself for a year or two, then returning, and finally in 1808-9 disappearing in company with another of the ringers; whereupon one of the churchwardens, Jonathan Harryman, who had been warden for Brigham township ever since 1799, as if tired of the vagaries of the ringers, takes to the belfry himself, at first associated only with John Brown, who had kept steadily on since 1781, but reinforced in 1815 by a third ringer in the person of the parish clerk, Jonathan Faulder. There is no mention in this century of "ale to the ringers"; but, on the other hand, during the reign of Jonathan Harryman, who remained churchwarden until 1819, their wages rise from 15 to 20 shillings per man. When Jonathan Harryman ceases to be churchwarden he also retires from the belfry, where his place is taken by Jonathan Owen. It is to be remarked, by the way, that formerly in Brigham parish an astonishing number of men bore the name as Jonathan.

With few exceptions, the most notable of which was Matthew Ashley, the Brigham parish clerk for the time being has been one of the ringers. The present excellent clerk, Mr. Richard Case, who told us the other day that he has sung in the choir, man and boy, for fifty years, is not one of the exceptions. "Until about 25 years ago", says Mr. Cass, "the treble used to be chimed as the congregation left the church on Sunday morning, that the folk at home should be warned that it was time to take the dinners out of the public oven". This scarcely seems to have been a good arrangement, as a sermon of unusual length might spoil the dinners. A better plan was described in our hearing, many years ago, by an old dissenting minister, who said that whilst preaching his first sermon

sermon, at a chapel to which he had been appointed minister, he heard a horn blow, whereupon most of the congregation at once left the chapel. "Why did that horn blow?" he afterwards asked one of the deacons; "and why, on hearing it, did so many persons get up and go out?" The deacon explained that the horn was the baker's signal that the dinners were ready. At Cockermouth one of the church bells is still rung after Sunday morning service. Mr. T. North, speaking of this custom as by no means obsolete, says that in some places it is understood as a notice that there will be evening service; but in other places the bell so rung is called the "pudding" or "dinner" bell, "being supposed to be rung in order to give the cook warning that service is over, and so dinner may be prepared"; sometimes called the "potato" bell, "because on hearing this bell the people at home put their potatoes in the pot for boiling" (*Bedfordshire Bells*, p. 93). It is, he adds, "probably the survival of the 'knolling of the Aves', mentioned in the Injunctions of 1538 as being sounded after the service, and at certain other times", and ordered to be "thenceforth left and omitted" (*ib*).

The Messrs. Lysons, writing in 1816, spoke of Brigham church as having "the only ring of bells in the county except the cathedral and Crosthwaite" (*Magna Britannia*, vol. iv, p. 39); a very curious statement, seeing that Cockermouth, only two miles distant from Brigham, had in 1816 a ring of six. One must think that they mistook Cockermouth for Brigham. Yet, even so, they might, with very little inquiry, have heard of Penrith and Workington, each with its ring of six, to say nothing of the four at Greystoke, and three at Dacre, Caldbeck, and Kirkoswald. Besides these we doubt whether in 1816 any other Cumberland church had as many bells as Brigham. Since that time half a dozen new rings of six have been added to the county stock of bells, two of eight, and two old

old rings of six have been increased to eight. There are not many more church towers in Cumberland which could hold even six bells. But the massive tower of Brigham church is certainly one of them. If at some future time it should be proposed to furnish it with a ring of six, the present tenor might serve as third bell in a ring with tenor in A. The Whitechapel ring at Thursby will nearly indicate what else would be required :—

		cwt.	qrs.	lbs.
Treble	F♯	3	3	9
No. 2.	E	3	3	21
No. 3.	D	4	1	18
No. 4.	C♯	5	0	0
No. 5.	B	6	0	11
Tenor	A	7	0	16

These weights are taken from the founders' invoice, and may therefore be relied on as accurate. Our estimate of the Brigham weights, reckoned from the diameters, is only approximate, and probably least correct in the case of the mediæval bell, which, from its shape, may be heavier than a modern bell of the same diameter. But its note? Well, if its crack be as slight as it seems, its original note should not be beyond recovery, if there be any truth in a story told by a German writer on bells, translated and quoted by Mr. Ellacombe, describing an operation performed upon a cracked bell, weighing 40 cwt., belonging to the church of St. Matthias at Treves. "Indescribable was the joy of Herr Devora when it was proved that . . . it sounded as if it had never been cracked" *Devonshire Bells*, Supplement, p. 449). Whether the present treble would be of any use in a ring of six it is for experts to say. In any case, for the sake of Roger Fleming, it would be a pity to let it go out of the parish. It might be transferred to the schoolroom, or to one of the district churches of Brigham. As for the mediæval bell, it

it should on no account leave the parish church, where it has done good service for more than 500 years, but should ever be preserved with care, even if altogether past work, and regarded with affection, as one of the most interesting monuments in one of the most interesting of Cumberland parish churches.

COCKERMOUTH.

The period dealt with in the following paper will be confined to that of the oldest extant book of the Cockermouth churchwardens' accounts; which begins at the year 1668, and ends at 1702.

The churchwardens in 1668 were Christopher Peile, John Peile of the Swan, Anthony Plasket, and Peter Allonby. Again, in 1674, we find John Peile of the Swan among the churchwardens. Meanwhile no other churchwarden's residence is specified; nor ever again until 1742, when another John Peile is described as "of the Kirkgate", evidently to distinguish him from a namesake, who was also one of the churchwardens in that year, styled John Peile de Buck, whatever that may mean. The former of these two wardens was probably the son or grandson of "John Peile of the Swan"; which is situated in Kirkgate. Doubtless in 1668, as in 1742, there was more than one John Peile in Cockermouth, and it was necessary to adopt some way of informing posterity which of them was the churchwarden. It was not because of its importance, then, that the Swan is mentioned as his abode.

All the same we may be quite sure that the Swan in the year 1668 was an important place: for

in many parishes it was formerly the practice to hold the vestry meetings in a public house, which varied according as this or that publican figured among the churchwardens; and, of course, the house in which the vestry meetings were held became during the landlord's term of office the centre of parochial life. (*Keswick Guardian*, April 11, 1885).

Whatever

Whatever there was, then, of interest to engage the attention of the good people of Cockermouth in the year 1668 would be fully discussed by the churchwardens, the parish clerk, the sexton, the ringers, and other parishioners, in the back parlour of the Swan.

There certainly was in that year something of unusual interest to talk about in Cockermouth; for it was in 1668 that, after an absence of several years from Cumberland, the famous George Larkham, the Commonwealth vicar of Cockermouth, who had been ejected at the Restoration, returned, not however to the vicarage, nor yet to Cockermouth, the Five-Mile Act being still in force, but at all events to Cumberland, and "sate down with his family at Egermond (Egremont) the 23rd of April" *(Cockermouth Congregational Records)*. This perhaps was not sufficiently near to cause any commotion at Cockermouth. But it soon became known that he intended to hold a meeting with his Cockermouth friends, of whom he had many, on May 15th, at Embleton; on which day Mr. Robert Ricarby, who had superseded him as vicar, went over to Embleton, and "made a furious disturbance" *(ib)*. We can easily understand that there was no love lost between Mr. Ricarby and Mr. Larkham. But their relations must have been still further strained by the circumstance that Mr. Ricarby was not only the successor of Mr. Larkham, but had also been his predecessor, and had been ejected during the Commonwealth. So there was great scope for dissussion at the Swan when it became known that Mr. Larkham had returned to Cumberland, and was about to hold a meeting at Embleton; and if the ringers looked in to hear what Mr. Churchwarden Peile had to say upon the matter, it is probable that they, as part and parcel of the existing order of things, manifested no desire to celebrate Mr. Larkham's return by a peal in the church tower.

It is by no means certain, however, that Mr. Larkham, even

even had he returned as vicar, would have cared to be welcomed by a peal; for he was a strict Puritan. He may not have had the same abhorence of church bells as his old opponent, George Fox, the Quaker, had, who disliked even to hear a bell ring for service. "It struck at my life," said Fox. He thought it was just like a market bell calling the people together that the priest might sell his wares. No such hostility as this did the Puritans, whether Presbyterian or Independent, with some exceptions, exhibit to church bells. Some of them were even very fond of bells, like John Bunyan, who had himself been a ringer, and to the last retained his liking for them, though he regarded it as a weakness of the natural man, to be restrained and kept down; which perhaps was the prevalent attitude of mind of the Puritans, at all events towards peal-ringing; and doubtless Mr. Larkham, whilst vicar of Cockermouth, had discouraged "rejoicing peals".

But even if Mr. Larkham would have liked a peal, and the ringers had been ever so anxious to give him one, I doubt whether they could have done so; for there must have been something very wrong with the bells, seeing that for ordinary ringing in 1668 there seems only to have been paid one shilling. Yet, strange to say, in the same year we find

Pd ye 29 of May, November 5, & ye 30 of January,
for Ringing 00 06 00

How came it to pass that the payment for ringing on three days was six times as much as that for the fifty-two Sundays? The only explanation I can suggest for this anomaly is that the bells were probably in such bad order that they were not rung at all in that year. But how about the three extra days? Well, on such days the ringers were almost everywhere, sometimes partly, and sometimes altogether, paid in ale; and John Peile of the Swan

Swan, when the bells could not be rung, would perhaps see all the more occasion for observing the traditional custom of drinking of ale, which itself was regarded as a sort of celebration of the day. To be sure, the 30th of January, the anniversary of the death of King Charles I, seems to us scarcely a fitting occasion for festive drinking of ale. But they did not trouble themselves much about anomalies in those days.

It is the more probable that the bells in 1668 were altogether out of order, since in the following year, 1669, there was paid for "hanging of the Bels £1 „ 9 „ 7". But even then matters seem not to have been put straight; for in 1670 and 1671 a good deal of tinkering went on in the belfry. One of bells was "taken downe & up severall times", and had a "new claper"; another had a "new band to its wheels"; another had a "new hinger". Meanwhile the ringers got very little in those three years; 2s. 8d. in 1669, and 2s. in 1670, shewing they had very little work to do. In 1671 they got nothing at all, not even ale; but then John Peile of the Swan was no longer in office.

Still further measures, then, for reform of the belfry, had to be resorted to in 1672 :—

For mending of the great bell and for beare to them that took it downe	0	7	7
Item for mending the midle bell and supporting the frames	0	2	6

Here we get the number of the bells, the mention of the "midle bell" shewing that there were three; which, though in most parts of England a small number for the parish church of a market town and borough, was above the average in Cumberland.

Now, notwithstanding the mending of the great and middle bells, the ringers don't get to work, and in 1672 their only payment was a shilling on "Gunpowder treason Day".

Day". Clearly the "mending" had done no good; and the item of "beare for taking down the great bell" must mean that the churchwardens found that it was really past mending. So in the following year, 1673, there is an item which shews that the great bell, having been taken down, had not yet returned to the belfry:—

ffor taking the greate Bell out of the earth and removing the old bell into its frame	0	5	0

The reason for moving the old bell, probably the middle one, into the frame of the great bell (tenor), is thus explained:—

To Jo Atkinson for making the clocke strike on the old bell	0	2	0

Not much ringing went on during these operations, as there is only this item:—

To Richd Peirson Geo Peirson and Jo Hudson for drinke and for their ringing 29th May and 5th November	0	3	6

Nothing is said about ringing on other days. Meanwhile an important work was in hand:—

1674

Payd for the bell casting	18	0	0
Mor to the bellfounders for ther advise aboutt hanging of the bell	0	7	6
And towards ther jurney and chargis	0	12	6
And for beare and other disbursements when she was hung	1	2	4
For a bell rope	0	4	0
To the Clarke for his labour aboutt the bell	0	3	0
For drawing bonds and articles aboutt the bell	0	2	6
To John Atkinson for making a bell wheel.....	0	15	0

This work must have been done in the year 1673-4, according to churchwardens' computation, as it was paid for, soon after Easter, by

An

An asessment mad by the fouer churchwardens and the twelve sidmen according to our custom the 7 of June 1674 for the casting of the greate bell.

The rate was "collected by Richard Peirson, parish clerke"; who "for his paynes taking about the church affairs" gets 3s. We may be sure he took pains about the "greate bell"; for he was himself one of the ringers, no doubt their captain; and amongst other "paynes" taken by him about the "church affairs" must have been the posting up of the accounts; for it was surely a ringer who wrote concerning the great bell that "*she* was hung". The uninitiated may call a bell by what name they please: Great Paul of London, Big Ben of Westminster, Tom of Lincoln; to the ringer it will still be *she*.

Now this great bell, which had been cast, was probably the old great bell, recast; and recast in Cockermouth, perhaps in the churchyard, where a pit was dug for the purpose. But the item for "bellfounder's journey" shows that the founder was not a Cockermouth man. It is not unlikely that he was a Penrith man, as we know that in the 17th century there was at Penrith a foundry of considerable repute.

The great bell being now set up, we find the ringers again paid for Sunday ringing; not much, however: Rd. Peirson, 5s., Jo. Hudson, 3s., and Jo. Hodgson, 3s. On each of the rejoicing days, however, May 29 and Nov. 5, they had 2s. 6d.; for in this year, 1674, John Peile of the Swan was again one of the churchwardens. I have noted that one of his colleagues was Robert Mayson, probably an ancester of one of the present churchwardens, Mr. C. Mayson, to whom, as also to Mr. Robinson, my best thanks are due for their courtesy in lending me the old accounts; which, for other reasons besides the information they give concerning the bells, are highly interesting to anyone who cares for local history.

But to return to the bells. It is evident, from what has been

been already stated, that they were in very bad condition, and not much used, down to the time of the recasting of the great bell. No doubt much disorder had prevailed. So at the Easter vestry meeting, on May 14, 1674, the attention of the vestry was called to an irregularity, which, now that belfry reform had been seriously taken in hand, was no longer to be tolerated. Hence the following edict; which, for greater impressiveness, was issued in the names of both the outgoing and incoming churchwardens:—

It is ordered by the new and old churchwardens That no person shall hereafter Ring any of the Bells at the death of any (except three peeles according to the Canon). But that every such person shall come to one of the then present churchwardens and have their consent and pay unto the then churchwardens Two shillings and sixpence to the publicke use of the church.

From this it would seem that it had come to be considered that anyone was at liberty, on the occasion of a death, to go and ring one of the church bells, without the permission of the constituted authorities, and to ring it how and at what times he pleased; which perphaps was formerly the custom in many Cumberland parishes, as to this day it is the custom in one Cumberland village church with which I am acquainted. But the Cockermouth churchwardens of 1673-4, both old and new, very properly determined to put a stop to it. It does not seem, however, from the wording of their order, that they forbade the ringing by private individuals; but merely that they required permission to do so to be asked for and paid for. Furthermore they required observance of canonical usage: "three peeles according to the Canon". The canon here referred to is the 67th, which enjoins that

when any is passing out of this life, a bell shall be tolled, and the minister shall then not slack to do his duty. And after the party's death, if it so fall out, there shall be rung no more than one short peal, and one other before and another after the Burial.

About

About the tolling of a bell "whilst any is passing out of this life" it is to be noticed that the churchwardens say nothing; probably because this usage had become obselete at Cockermouth. It was called the "passing bell"; and, though there is no trace or tradition of its use in Cumberland in post-Reformation times, it did not fall into disuse in many other parts of the country until about the middle of last century. A bell is said to be tolled when the strokes, however produced, occur with a rather long interval between them. Ringing means a quick swing, and is of course the term applicable to a peal. The canon then does not sanction anything like a knell after death, whether on the day of the death or at the funeral, but orders a "peal", intended to indicate thanksgiving for the deliverance of a soul from "the miseries of this sinful world". Yet in most places, nowadays, nothing but tolling is ever practised in connection with a death or a funeral. Indeed the death bell has not only adopted the tolling of the passing bell, but has also appropriated its name; for it is now often, but erroneously called the passing bell. Not that one often hears it so called in Cumberland, for a very good reason: for the death bell itself is seldom, *i.e.*, in few parishes, heard in Cumberland. On the other hand the after-burial bell, which in most other counties has become almost obsolete, is far from uncommon in Cumberland; where for the most part it is rung, not tolled. This, however, may be due to the circumstance that Cumberland church bells in country parishes are so small that when tolled there is little or no solemnity in the sound. Anyhow, whatever the cause of their being rung, the ringing is more in accordance than tolling with the injunction of the canon. It may be said perhaps that a peal, which is what the canon enjoins, is not obtained by the ringing of a single bell. But that is a mistake. The late Mr. North and other campanologists have decided that it is quite permissible to call the ringing of

of a single bell a peal. No doubt, wherever there are several bells, the ringing of them all as a peal, after death and at funerals, was contemplated by the framers of the canon; and such peals were formerly rung in many parishes down to comparatively recent times; but they are seldom heard now, except occasionally as muffled peals. A muffled peal was rung at Crosthwaite last year immediately after the burial of the late Mr. Douglas, whilst a hymn was being sung at the grave; and the effect of it was admirable. At Cockermouth there is now neither the usage of the death bell, except on rare occasions, nor that of the after-burial bell.

We may regard the order of the churchwardens in 1673-4 as a step in the direction of funeral reform. Whether to regard another step they took about the same time as one in the same direction will depend upon the point of view from which one looks at it:

ffor a new public coffen for the use of the parish 14/-

Did this mean that one and the same coffin was used over and over again for carrying the dead to the churchyard? That is certainly what it did mean. Appended to the churchwardens' accounts of each year is an inventory of the parish church goods; and, whereas amongst other goods there constantly recurs "One coffen for ye publicke use of ye parish," never again do we meet with another "new coffen" among the items in the accounts. To what extent it was used, whether the parishioners generally had recourse to it, there is nothing to shew. But we may be sure it carried every pauper to his grave. Was it then an institution peculiar to Cockermouth? Well, a few weeks ago, whilst reading some antiquarian publication, I met with the statement that formerly many parishes had a public coffin; and the writer, so far from admitting that the disuse of public coffins has been any improvement, maintained

maintained that their abolition had been a retrograde step. He said it is quite a mistake to commit a corpse to the ground encased in anything which delays its absorption into the dust from which it came. Of course he did not mean that it should have no covering whatever; but that it should be wrapped, so as to be concealed from view, in something less durable than wood, a coffin being only used to convey it to the grave. And, when we come to think of it, this is nearly the same method as many sanitary reformers now recommend.

Returning to the bells, we find that in 1676 there was paid by the churchwardens

To Henry Beck for a new hand bell in money	0	7	0
and he allowed for old bell	0	2	0

This then, was no new institution, since there had been an "old bell". Indeed, a hand bell, as an article of church furniture, was a very old and once universal institution. At Brigham church there was, more than 500 years ago, a "bell of good siluer xxx oz. in weight", evidently a hand bell, and in Edward VI's Inventory there is continual mention of hand bells among the goods of the various parish churches. Mr. North says :—

> They were used in a variety of ways: in processions on Rogation Days; in the procession when the Eucharist was borne to the house of the sick or dying, to give warning of its approach, that all might pay reverence to it; hence it was sometimes called, as at Gt. Gonerby, Lincolnshire, the "houselling bell"; it was also rung to clear the way, and to call for a prayer for the deceased, at the burial of the dead, and so was frequently called the "corse bell". (*Bedfordshire Chnrch Bells*, pp. 103-4).

It was also sometimes used as the sacring bell; which perhaps was the use of the silver bell at Brigham. We may be quite sure, however, that for no such purpose as any

any of these did the Cockermouth churchwardens in 1676 purchase their new hand bell from Henry Beck. Nor is it likely that even the "old bell", which Mr. Beck took as part payment for the new, had seen the days when it would be put to any of those uses; for all such bells were ordered to be destroyed in the early years of the reign of Elizabeth. A document, called "*Inventarium Monumentorum Superstitionis*", preserved in the Episcopal Registry at Lincoln, and printed in Mr. E. Peacock's book on "English Church Furniture", contains

returns made in the 8th year of Elizabeth, to certain royal commissioners, by the churchwardens of 150 parishes in the county of Lincoln, of such articles of church furniture as had been used in the previous reign, but were in 1566 considered by the authorities to be superstitious or unnecessary.

A few extracts will suffice, so far as handbells are concerned, as specimens of these returns:—

OSBOURNBY: "Handbelles sold to Tho & Wm Bell, and they have made brase mortars with them". (*Peacock*, p. 120).
SLEAFORD: "Sacring belles with suche other trumperie were burned in the market place the xxj daye of October Ao secundo Elizabeth". (*ib.*, p. 138).
SPRIDLINGTON: "Sold and defaced". (p. 142).
UPPINGTON: "Broken and knockt in peces". (p. 514).
ULCEBY: "Broken in peces and sold to our Vicare". (p. 162).
WADINGHAM: "Honge at a Maypole toppe". (p. 163).
WINTERTON: "Gone at the puttinge awaie of all papistrie". (p. 164).

The Cumberland returns, if any such were made, are no longer extant. But a document quoted by Whellan (p. 334), shows Dr. Barnes, bishop of Carlisle, ordering the churchwardens of Crosthwaite in 1571 to "sell all the Popish relics and monuments of superstition as presently remain in their parish"; which he (the bishop) proceeds to enumerate; and among them we find "three hanbells".

As

As far as Cockermouth is concerned it is no use saying that Bishop Barnes doubtless issued similar injunctions to all churthwardens in his diocese; because Cockermouth was not at that time in the diocese of Carlisle, but in that of Chester. Still if the Queen's orders in this matter penetrated to Rose Castle, no doubt they were received and obeyed by the bishop of Chester. So the Cockermouth handbell, allowed for and carried away by Henry Beck, was no mediæval relic. What purpose then had it served, and why, when old and perhaps cracked, were the churchwardens under the necessity of finding for it a successor? We are reduced to the prosaic hypothesis that the Cockermouth handbell was for the use of the town crier. To provide a bell for that functionary is in our day no part of the duty of the churchwardens; but two centuries ago it would be difficult to say what was not a part of the churchwardens' duty. As for the town crier, doubtless it was they who appointed him, they found him his bell, and they gave him his orders; very curious orders, some of them, from a modern point of view.

In the same year, 1676, in which a new handbell was procured there was

paid to Richard Peirson for glaseing the windowes and ringing the morneing bell.....	3	0	0

Richard Peirson, then, the parish clerk, was a glazier. How much he received for ringing the morning bell, which in that year is mentioned for the first time, does not appear in this item. But in the following year, 1677, he had £1 for "ringinge morninge bell"; which the accounts show was henceforth the regular pay for this special work. What was its purpose? We often meet with a morning bell in churchwardens' and corporation accounts, *e.g.*:—

1614

1614, To Ralf Kidd for ringing 4 of ye Clock xxs (*Carlisle Corporation Accounts*).

It was in most cases a survival from pre-Reformation times, when a bell was rung as a reminder to all to say the appointed prayers. But at the time we are now dealing with, and for long afterwards, it was "used simply as a call for daily work"; as at Tydd St. Mary, "to call men and carts to work"; and at Louth, known as the "getting-up bell" (North's *Lincolnshire Bells*, p. 213). It is "still rung at five o'clock in the morning at South Luffenham, and till recently was heard in many parts of the county" (*Rutlandshire Bells*, p. 202). At Toddington "the tenor was rung at 4 in the morning down to 1877"; and at Woburn "a bell was formerly rung at 4 a.m. as a school bell in connection with the free school there. It was afterwards rung at 6 a.m., but has been entirely discontinued for about forty years" (*Bedfordshire Bells*, p. 105). At Cockermouth the morning bell was not a survival; for we have no trace of it before 1676. Something new, then, must have happened in that year.

Well, in Askew's "Guide to Cockermouth" (p. 8) we read:—

The Grammar School for the townships of Cockermouth and Embleton, situate in All Saints' Churchyard, was founded by Philip Lord Wharton, Sir George Fletcher, Sir Richard Graham, and Dr. Smith, Bishop of Carlisle, in 1676.

Burn and Nicolson (II, 67), mentioning the same four founders, with "other contributors" unnamed, more correctly describe Dr. Smith as "dean (afterwards bishop of Carlisle"; for he did not become bishop until 1684. Lysons (p. 43) says "the school was founded in the reign of Charles II by Philip Lord Wharton, Sir Richard Graham, and others". He does not give any date; nor do

do Burn and Nicolson. Whellan (p. 306) says "the school was founded in 1676", giving as his authority for this date "an inscription over the door", which he quotes. As he does not notice four coats of arms, and some initials, by which it is flanked, I here quote it with these additions, additions, at all events indicating the positions of the shields.

⊠	SCHOL : HUJUS FUND :	⊠
	JACT : FUERUNT XXV DIE	
⊠	MENSIS MAII AN DOM	⊠
R L	MDCLXXVI.	R T

No doubt the arms are those of the four chief founders. But they are so defaced that, if we did not know who the founders were, it would be quite impossible to make out what is on any one of the shields. Inspecting them, however, with knowledge of the founders, we may venture to assign the higher shield on the left to Dean Smith, the lower to Fletcher, the higher on the right to Wharton; and the fourth, on which there remains nothing that can be recognised, falls to Graham. The owners of the initials R L and R T we are able to identify by help of another inscription, on a stone tablet inside the schoolroom, also quoted, but incorrectly, by Whellan, who makes the first line run thus:—

HÆREDES PULCHRAS CUM POSTERA VIDERET ÆTAS.

He also in the third line substitutes A for U as final letter of the fourth word; which is a contraction, perhaps accidental, of SUBSCRIPTUM. The following is a correct copy of the inscription:—

HAS ÆDES PULCHRAS CUM POSTERA VIDERIT ÆTAS
ET LOWRY ET TUBMAN SIT GRATA UTRIQUE RICHARDO.
ULTIMA CUJUS HABET SUBSCRIPTU LINEA NOMEN
HUJUS ERAT PRIMUS GYMNASIARCHA SCHOLÆ.
GAUENUS NOBLE . 1676.

Whellan

Whellan was only just in time to preserve the author's surname, which is now quite erased by decay. But Mr. Noble, could he have foreseen what Whellan would represent him as having written, would have erased it himself. It must, however, be admitted that a man who could get safely through three Latin hexameters should have been more careful of his reputation than he has shewn himself in his pentameter; where his tautological designation of himself as "gymnasiarcha scholæ" lets him in for a false quantity. This he might easily have avoided by adhering to hexameter and keeping clear of "scholæ", *e.g.*:—

Hujus gymnasii primus fuit ille magister.

A translation of these lines, as literal as the exigencies of metre and rhyme permit, is here subjoined:—

Two names shall still, to all their gaze who fix
On this fair building, in some distant year,
Lowry and Tubman, Richards both, be dear,
And, writ below, let one last line proclaim
Who was first master of this school: his name
Was Gawen Noble. Sixteen seventy-six.

Here then we have the rightful claimants to the initials R L and R T: Richard Lowry and Richard Tubman. That they were men of consequence in Cockermouth is evident from the prefix of "Mr" to each of their names in a list of 300 householders who paid the "church sesse" in 1676, to only fifteen of whom was that title accorded. Richard Lowry was an "overseer of the poore" in that year. But neither he nor Richard Tubman was ever a churchwarden, unless the latter was identical with one Richard Tubman who was churchwarden in 1724-5. Mr. Lowry was probably a dissenter, for on

Dec

Dec 20, 1692, the Brethren met at Brother Lowry's house in Cockermouth in order to the choosing of a Deacon (*Congregational Records*);

and eighteen months later

Richard Lowry, an aged disciple, departed in peace, June, 20, 1692. (*ib.*)

Assuming the identity of "Brother Lowry" with the Richard Lowry of the inscription we may impute a tolerant spirit to the author of the hexameters, who was Mr. Ricarby's curate, as we learn from a footnote to the accounts of 1690-1 :—

These accounts passed before Gawen Noble Minister.

The curate, down to a time within living memory, was usually the master of the school. Schools of this kind, of which there are or have been several in Cumberland, are mostly of Elizabethan origin. Nor is the foundation of this school, notwithstanding the above cited authorities, to be assigned to a later date. Hutchinson (II, 118), in his account of Cockermouth, says that "the free grammar school was founded soon after the Reformation". This statement, if uncorroborated, as it seems at variance with the account given by all the other local historians, we might hesitate to accept; but it is confirmed by a note in the parish inventory for 1673-4 :—

Henry Fletcher Vicar of Towne Malling part of his Last Will Dated xxx day of July 1554 wherein is Bequeathed Fourescore pounds to the Inhabitants of Cockermouth to find a Schoole Master &c. The whole will and Administracion dated in Aprill 1561 were delivered from Churchwardens to Churchwardens till the yeare 1629 when Thomas ffrance and his partnere were Churchwardens who hath keept it ever since and lost the Administracion and a good part of the will as appeares.

Of course a school founded in 1561 might have ceased to exist long before 1673, and so would have no continuity with

with a school founded in 1676. But that this school had not ceased to exist appears from the title page of the old account book, dated "the yeare of our Redemption 1668":—

A Booke of accountes of the parish of Cockermouth wherein is contained the Bookes Records writeings and other Vtensalls belonging to the Church & Free Grammer Schoole there.

In 1673-4 the parish inventory has these items:—

2 Rentall Bookes in parchment of Schoole Land.
A copie of Decree for paymt of 5*li* yearly by Mr Fletcher of Tallantire for the use of the Free Schoole.
A Deed & bond from Mr. William Uryell for x*li* to ye Schoole.
A Deed bond & Defeazance from Michaell Hodgshon and Mary his wife for Five pounds to ye Schoole. See Anno 1640 in the old booke.
Scapula's Lexicon Græco-Latinum & Cooper's Dictionary the Gift of Mr. Peter Murthwaite to the Schoole.

In the same year the following "payments to the Master of the sd Schoole" are recorded:—

At Whitsuntide last	.....	.....	0	6	0
At Martinmas last	.....	...	0	6	0
On St. Thomas Day last	.....	.....	0	3	0
On Good ffriday last	.....	.....	0	3	0

There is also in that year an item which throws light on the matter now under consideration:—

ffor one yeare rent for the School house 1 0 0

The school, then, though founded in 1561, and evidently in existence "Anno 1640", also "in the yeare of our Redemption 1668", and in 1673-4, had as yet no house of its own. But the time for its obtaining one was now at hand; and in 1676-7 the churchwardens in their inventory report

one

One letter from Sr Geo ffletcher touchinge our ffree Gramer schoule one from Sr Richard Graham one from Mr Geo Gee & one from henry Bouch Esqre

Doubtless these letters referred to the new schoolroom; the foundations of which, according to the lintel inscription, were laid on May 25, 1676. To this inscription may be traced the origin of the prevalent belief that the school was founded in 1676. But the inscription must mean that the schoolroom, not the school, was founded in that year. Richard Lowry and Richard Tubman, whose initials appear on the lintel, were probably the builders of the room; and Gawen Noble, when he described himself as "primus gymnasiarcha scholæ", could only have meant that he was the first master who presided over the school in that room. The present master, I fear, is likely to be the last. Already he has had to desert the old building, now in an almost ruinous condition, and to rent a room wherein to carry on his school. Nor does there seem to be any intention to repair the once "pulchras ædes" in which Gawen Noble taught.

The importance of the year 1676 in this story would of itself warrant our assuming that at Cockermouth as at Woburn the morning bell, then heard for the first time, was "rung in connection with the free school", perhaps to call the boys to school; and as the schoolroom was in the churchyard, and the bell was rung by the parish clerk, who was captain of the church ringers, we may also assume that one of the church bells was used for that purpose. But the purpose for which this bell was rung is placed beyond doubt by a change in the wording of the item for ringing it, which in 1688-9 becomes

To Richard Peirson for Ringing of Scholer Bell 1 0 0

In later years it is sometimes called the "scholar bell", sometimes the "morning bell", and sometimes simply "the

"the bell". The pay for ringing it is always the same, viz.: £1; and if, as originally at Woburn, it had to be rung all the year round at 4 o'clock, I think that Richard Peirson fairly earned his pay. And the unfortunate master! And the wretched boys! It was indeed well that at Woburn the hour was afterwards changed to six. There is some ground, however, for hoping that the Cockermouth morning bell was rung at seven; for in 1695-6 there is this item:—

To Jos Noble for Ringing seven a clock bell	1	0	0

Joseph Noble, successor of Richard Peirson as parish clerk, made his first appearance in the belfry in 1691-2, for which year there are these items:—

To Richard Peirson for Bell Ringing	0	7	0
To Joseph Noble for ringing ye Bell	0	10	0
To one ffearon by Mr Noble order	0	2	6

Peirson, as we never again find him in the belfry, probably died in that year. Then, during a short interregnum, "Mr. Noble", whom I take to be Gawen Noble, schoolmaster and curate, has the morning bell rung by "one ffearon"; who presently gives place to Joseph Noble, now parish clerk and captain of the ringers. Henceforth Joseph Noble annually receives his £1 for ringing the morning bell, under whatever name, until in 1695-6 it seems to be called the "seven a clock bell". I say it *seems* to be so-called; for we must not too hastily assume the hour in this item to be 7 *a.m.* We must first examine the "curious legend of the evening bell". (Askew, p. 1).

Mr. Askew, in his "Guide to Cockermouth" (2nd ed. pp. 5, 6), speaking of the parish charities, says:—

One singular legacy has been lost. This legacy relates to the ringing of one of the church bells every night at seven o'clock for about five minutes from Halloween to Candlemas. Tradition gives two slightly

slightly different versions as to the origin of this singular custom. One attributes it to a man; the other, which is the most generally accepted, is that adopted by Mr. Peter Burn, the Brampton poet, viz., that its originator was a lady, who had the misfortune 'once upon a time' to be overtaken by darkness and was lost upon Slate Fell, about a mile east of the town. . . . This lady, to whom tradition assigns the name of Miss Betty Waif, became bewildered in the darkness, and sat down upon a stone, still known as "Betty Waif's Stone," a large earth-fast boulder. . . . Whilst sitting here, lost and forlorn, she heard the welcome sound of the church bell. She rose, proceeded in the direction of the sound, and reached her home in safety. As a token of thankfulness for her deliverance she left the sum of £2 per annum to be paid for the ringing of the bell nightly during the dark quarter of the year, as a guide to any wanderer who might be benighted; and although this donation is lost, the ringing of the bell still continues. The ringers, eight in number, mount the tower weekly by turns to ring out what is now designated by the townspeople "The Evening Bell."

The second edition of the "Guide to Cockermouth" was published in 1872; since which date, I am sorry to say, this bell has been discontinued. Its story, as told by Mr. Askew, is not improbable; nor is it, as he considers, "singular," if by that he means unique. Mr. W. Andrews, in his "Anecdotal History of Bells," says:—

In winter, and in flat and dangerous localities, the ringing of the bell in the evening has often been the means of guiding and sometimes saving the the lives of travellers; and there are instances on record of persons so saved leaving a sum of money for ringing this bell. Such is the story of a bride, who, from an English village stole out to hide, like another Ginevra, from her friends on the wedding day. The place was near a wide moor, and the girl hid awhile among the furze. When she sought to return, to laugh merrily at the anxious groom and guests, she took a wrong path, and presently found herself on the waste. The shades of night and the shrouding snow fell fast, and the bride had well nigh given herself up to despair; when, hark, the curfew bell, how sweetly pealing from the old grey tower that overshadowed her home! After being guided to her home by the blessed sound, she presented a chime of bells to the church, and upon her death, years after, it was found she had bequeathed money to keep up the ringing of the curfew bell for ever (*Newcastle Courant*, June 1, 1883).

Mr.

Mr. Andrews does not help us to identify the village which was the scene of this story. The late Mr. T. North, in one instance, is more circumstantial. Speaking of the curfew he says :—

In several parishes, as traditionally at Langham in this county (Rutlandshire), the continuance of the curfew is sought to be secured by an endowment, provided by persons who in times when roads were badly defined, and crossed an open unenclosed country, lost their way in the gloom of the evening, or in the darkness of winter early nights, but were enabled to find their village homes by its welcome sound. Apparently with reference to this end it is frequently only rung during the winter months (*Rutlandshire Church Bells*, p 100).

Turning to Mr. North's account of the parish of Langham we find the following statement :—

The Curfew is here rung at 8 p.m. during the winter months, after which the day of the month is tolled. Tradition says a lady, being benighted, and finding her way home by the sound of the bells, left an endowment for the future ringing of this bell; but none such is now known (*ib.* p 137).

It is disappointing that these stories about legacies for the continuance of the evening bell invariably end with the statement that no such legacy is now known. I thought the other day that I had at last got hold of a piece of conclusive evidence in behalf of one such story; for I was informed, on what seemed good authority, that in the porch of the old church at Chelsea may be seen a bell bearing an inscription to the effect that it was presented by a man who having lost his way at night was guided back to his home by the Chelsea curfew. Naturally I was anxious to see a rubbing of the inscription; and, through the kindness of a friend, one was taken, and sent to me by post. But, alas, it ran thus :—

THE GIFT OF THE HON WILLIAM ASHBURNHAM ESQ
COFFERER OF HIS MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD 1679.

In these stories, as in most of the same kind, the bell is stated

stated to have been the curfew. Was, then, the bell heard by Betty Waif the curfew? Clearly not; for if the curfew at Cockermouth had not become obsolete before the time when the oldest extant book of accounts begins, we should certainly come upon the trace of an evening bell before 1695. If the "seven a clock bell" in that year was rung at 7 p.m., then it was in 1695 that the evening bell, whatever its origin, was first rung. It is not, however, until 1703-4 that there is any clear indication of an evening bell. The accounts for that year have this entry:—

Cash paid to Joseph Noble for ringing the scholer bell, broums 6d. for sweping the Church, Oile for ye Clock 6d, for ringing the saven a Clock bell first time 6d, Coreunation day ringing ye bells 6d	1 2 0

Here the "scholer" or morning bell—the payment for which, though not specified, must have been £1—is distinct from the "saven a Clock bell": which in succeeding years is sometimes called the "evening bell"; for ringing which "first time", and that time often indicated as November, seldom more than 6d. is paid. Clearly we have here the 7 p.m. bell, rung each year "first time" at Halloween, and last time at Candlemas, down to its recent abolition; and, whether or not instituted in 1703-4, it was evidently not instituted later than that year. Askew, speaking of this bell in 1872, says it was designated by the townspeople the "evening bell." That is not what the sexton says it was designated. He told me it was called the "supper bell": and it is so called in the churchwardens' accounts as far back as 1716-7:—

Nov Ale when began to ring supper bell.. .. 6d.

It is not to be supposed that a church bell, whatever it may have come to be called, was originally rung for supper. But many a bell, which had once a dignified title, indicative of its true origin, has in course of time assumed

assumed an undignified alias. Thus at Brigham the "Knolling of the Aves" degenerated into the "Oven Bell ;'; and the curfew has often gone by strange names. At Cockermouth it seems to have taken at least eleven years to foist upon the "seven o'clock" or "evening" bell the name of the "supper" bell, or at all events to get that name into the churchwardens' accounts. Perhaps it took more than eleven years to bring this about: for we have not yet arrived at a decision about the "seven a clock" bell of 1695-6. One thing is clear: that, whatever "seven a clock" in the item of that year may mean, the payment £1 must have been for the morning bell; for the ringer of the evening bell, whatever called, seems never to have had any payment at all, except a few pence for ale on "first night" at Halloween. Perhaps he did not even get that before 1703-4, or whatever he did get was given to him by some one else than the churchwardens. But, as probably the same man rang both the morning and the evening bell, whoever posted up the accounts fo 1695-6, if the evening bell was first instituted in that year, may have made a mistake, and jumbled up the two bells together. Or, after all, seven o'clock may have been the regular hour for the morning bell. Anyhow we seem to have ascertained the period within which the evening bell must have been instituted, viz., 1695-1703. If Betty Waif was not an imaginary person, that is about the time to look for her; and the place where to look for her will be the parish register, which I have not yet seen. Then, if the year of her death should be ascertained, there would be her will to look for; which should be at Chester or York. And what if her will, snpposing it to be found, should contain no bell-ringing bequest? Must we then fall back upon the "other version", and say that the "originator" of the evening bell was a man, name unknown? No, let us still adhere to Betty Waif; whose name is something tangible in the tradition: and there is her

her stone. She may have left no bell-ringing legacy. It does not indeed follow, because the £2 has not been forthcoming within living memory, that therefore it never was bequeathed. Legacies left for various objects formed what in those days was called the "parish stock", which was lent out at interest to several persons, and the interest was applied to the purposes indicated by the testators. Many parishes, especially town parishes, had such a "stock"; concerning which much interesting information is generally found, as at Cockermouth, in the churchwardens' accounts. Now it will be easily understood that this mode of getting interest on the "stock", owing to defalcation on the part of a borrower, sometimes resulted in total loss of one or other of the legacies. Therefore the fact of there being now no money to pay for ringing the evening bell is not conclusive evidence that no such money was ever bequeathed. But a more serious objection is the fact that there is no mention of any such bequest in the churchwardens' accounts. So I think we must give up the tradition of the legacy. Still there is no occasion on that score to give up Betty Waif. My friend Peter Burn of Brampton, in his poem, referred to by Mr. Askew, does not hamper himself with a legacy, supposed to have been lost. He represents the lady as not waiting to shew posthumous gratitude for her rescue from a night on Slate Fell, but as encouraging the ringer, by liberal reward during the rest of her life, to keep the bell going:

> And now through Autumn and Winter
> The bell from the spire was heard.

He further assumes that, once set regularly going, the bell was continued after her death, by the influence of her example both on the ringers and on the parishioners:—

> And hands are ready to labour,
> And hearts are ready to give.

But

But a question arises: If there was no curfew at Cockermouth, and the lady was the "originator" of the evening bell, what was the bell she heard whilst sitting on the stone? Mr. Burn is equal to the occasion. Speaking of the lady's gratitude to the ringer, he says:—

> To the bellman gold and silver
> She ever was wont to bring;
> And each evening found him ringing
> The bell he had chanced to ring.

Peter here entrenches himself in a strong position. He must, as a poet, have been tempted to go in boldy for the curfew. But doubtless he reflected that some such unpoetical critic as myself might arise who would perhaps shew that there was no curfew at Cockermouth. So he judiciously fell back on the bell ringer "who had chanced to ring". From this ground he cannot be dislodged. That an evening bell was rung at Cockermouth during the winter months for close upon 200 years is beyond dispute; and the very fact that no such bell having been regularly rung before the end of the 17th century, with nothing else to account for its then beginning, not only tells in favour of the only explanation ever advanced of its origin, but also confirms Mr. Burn's hypothesis that what Betty Waif heard, on the occasion of her memorable adventure, was a casual or at all events exceptional bell. But even an exception is sometimes according to rule. It has a rule of its own; which, if discovered disposes of the apparent antagonism to the rule to which it had been regarded as an exception. The primary rule, in the present case, is that there was no regular evening bell at Cockermouth, which Betty Waif could have heard. What bell, then, supposing she heard one at all, did she hear? I venture to suggest that she may have heard the "Gunpowder Treason" bell or bells; which, being rung in November, exactly meet the demands of the case. Here

I take leave of the subject, trusting that I have not laid myself open to the imputation of having sought to undermine the popular belief in the interesting legend of the Cockermouth "evening bell". But it must be admitted that, if I had been guilty of any such nefarious design, and had even succeeded in demolishing the legend, the people of Cockermouth would have had no ground for complaint, inasmuch as they have allowed the bell itself to be abolished. The determining cause of its abolition is not far to seek. "Too many cooks", says the proverb, "spoil the broth"; and so, when it had come to "ringers eight in number mounting the tower weekly by turns to ring", the bell was sure to come to grief. However that may have been, let us hope that we may not next hear of "Betty Waif's stone" being broken up as metal for mending the roads.

My reference to "Gunpowder Treason Day" reminds me to notice the "rejoicing peals" recorded in the old account book. No day but the 5th of November holds its ground from beginning to end of the book. Even the 29th of May, which in many parishes of some parts of England is still commemorated by ringing, ceased to be so observed at Cockermouth after the death of Charles II; which occurred on February 6th, 1684-5. The bells then ring in his brother and successor:—

To the Ringers at the King's Proclamation	0	3	0

They ring another peal on April 23rd, 1685, when James is crowned:—

ffor ringing on the K: Cor: day	0	2	0

They continue during his reign to observe this day, together with the 5th of November; for which latter day, however, in 1688, they significantly get extra remuneration; though they could not then have heard of the Prince of

of Orange's landing at Torbay. No matter; perhaps they were expecting him. The ringing for the year 1688-9, which for parish affairs ended at Easter, 1689, was on this wise:—

	To the Ringers the 5 November	0	4	0
	Pd the Ringers for ringing of thankesguiving daie and Kings proclamation	0	6	0
	Pd for Ringing the Kings Coronation	0	3	0

Occasionally in this reign (William III) they observe "ye Kings birthday", as well as the anniversary of his coronation; nor do they omit to celebrate his victories:—

1690-1	Pd to the Ringers att ye happy news of Taking of Dublin	0	4	0
1691-2	Pd to ye ringers of ye takeing of Athlone	0	3	0
	Pd to ye ringers of ye takeing of Limerick	0	4	0
	Pd to ye ringers upon ye News of ye happy return of ye King to England	0	3	0
1692-3	Pd ye ringers for news of victory over ffrench fleet	0	4	0

King William died on March 8th, 1701-2; for which year, ending at Easter 1702, there are the following entries:—

For Ayle to Ringers uppon the Queen's proclamation & corronation	0	5	0
ffor Ringing uppon the 25th of November & uppon King Willms Returne from Holland upon the Queens proclamation and coronation & on the Kings death att 2s 6d p day	0	10	6

What was in the space left blank in this entry I cannot say; for there is here a hole in the page, doubtless made by the proverbial "church mouse", as it goes right through the last 30 leaves of the book, cover and all. Nor, whatever there was here, do I understand how "2s. 6d. per day" for five days amounts only to 10s. 6d.

But

But the churchwardens in that year seem to have got somewhat confused in their reckoning, not only of money, but also of time, inserting King William's return between the ale and ringing for Queen Anne's proclamation, and again the Queen's proclamation between the King's return and his death. They have certainly contrived to bring home to us with great force the constitutional maxim: "The King is dead. Long live the King!" They come and go, kings and queens, like humbler folk.

Rectors and vicars, too, come and go; but no items for ringing them in or out occur in the churchwardens' accounts. Indeed they ring themselves in; and a prevalent superstition assigns them as many years of incumbency as they give pulls to the "induction bell". Mr. Rickerby, if this were so, must have applied himself with exceptional vigour to the bell rope; for, whereas he rang himself in before the time of the Commonwealth, he did not die till 1699. Not one of the local historians gives the date of his induction; though Hutchinson (II, 218) seems to hint that it was 1640. His old antagonist, George Larkham, the Commonwealth vicar, did not long survive him. He (Mr. Larkham) lived at Tallantire, where the Cockermouth nonconformists attended his ministrations, until James II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1687 permitted him to preach in Cockermouth, where he died in 1700. Of Mr. Rickerby we find but few traces in the churchwardens' book. Two or three items of expenditure in 1668-9-0, are mentioned as incurred "by Mr. Rickerbie's order"; he occasionally wrote the "presentments"; and once, in 1678, he signed his name to the accounts. In later years his name does not again occur; and that of his curate "Mr. Noble" comes to the fore.

The parish register, as I have said, I have not yet seen. Its earliest extant volume, which begins at 1632, might enable us to ascertain the date of Mr. Rickerby's induction

tion. The parish inventory, written each year by the churchwardens, mentions older register books, still existing at the end of the 17th century. I here subjoin the first and last entries relating to them in the oldest extant churchwardens' book:—

1668-9 One new Reidgster Book Two ould Register Bookes
1702-3 One new Register Book with 2 old ones.

The inventory also has frequent reference to

One old book of Accompts.

It is to be regretted that this old book of accounts cannot now be found. If ever I again take up the story of Cockermouth church bells, instead of beginning where I now leave off, I would prefer to end where this paper began.

CROSTHWAITE.

The present peal of Crosthwaite church consists of the following bells:—

No.	Note.	Diameter.	Date.	Founders.
1	E	28 inches	1882	Warner & Son
2	D♯	29 ,,	1775	Pack & Chapman
3	C♯	30 ,,	1775	Pack & Chapman
4	B	32½ ,,	1775	Pack & Chapman
5	A	35 ,,	1882	Warner & Son
6	G♯	38 ,,	1775	Pack & Chapman
7	F♯	40 ,,	1882	Warner & Son
8	E	44 ,,	1882	Warner & Son

The treble (No. 1) weighs about 4¼ cwt., the tenor (No. 8) about 15 cwt., and the rest in proportion, the weight of a bell being approximately known from its diameter at mouth

mouth. (Warner's *Bell Catalogue*). The treble and tenor are entirely new. Nos. 5 and 7 are recast from the metal of two of the peal cast in 1775 at the Whitechapel foundry by Pack and Chapman. The six Whitechapel Bells were a famous peal in their day, superior to any neighbouring peal in the estimation of Crosthwaite and Keswick folk, who thus accounted for the alleged pre-eminence :—

The tradition is that there were three sets of six bells each, cast by Pack and Chapman for Penrith, Cockermouth, and Keswick—some say there were four sets, adding Workington—and that Dr. Brownrigg, who built Ormathwaite, and was one of the chief residents here, gave £10 10s. to the collection on the condition that Keswick had the first pick of the three, or four sets, as the case may have been, and that this accounts for the Crosthwaite bells being of a sweeter tone than either those at Penrith, or those which were destroyed when All Saints Church, Cockermouth, was burned down. *Crosthwaite Parish Magazine*, October, 1882.

The Workington bells were undoubtedly cast in 1775 by Pack and Chapman. But the Penrith bells, as may be seen from their inscriptions, were cast by Lester and Pack in 1763. In what year the late Cockermouth bells were cast there is nothing to show. But the present proprietor of the Whitechapel foundry has a list of bells cast by his predecessors, with the peals recorded in the order in which they were cast, but without any dates appended, in which, whilst Workington stands next to Keswick, a dozen peals intervene between Workington and Cockermouth; from which he infers that the Cockermouth bells must have been cast a few years later than those of Keswick and Workington. Thus the above mentioned tradition shorn of its application to Penrith, and probably of its application to Cockermouth, must be content with keeping what hold it can on Workington.

Another bell story also needs reconsideration. The bell given to the vicar of Crosthwaite by Mr. Robert Ferguson, F.S.A., was thus described in the catalogue of

of the loan collection exhibited during Church Congress week at Carlisle:—"Ancient bell, formerly belonging to Crosthwaite Church, Cumberland". No doubt Mr. Ferguson received this description with the bell when it came into his possession. Mr. Christopherson, who sold it to Mr. Wake, by whom it was sold to Mr. Ferguson, says that he bought it from a travelling dealer, and has never alleged or supposed that it once belonged to Crosthwaite Church. It may have, if we only knew it, an interesting history. But we do not know it, and are not likely to know it. It seems ancient; but, it is blank, *i.e.*, without inscription or stamp of any kind, so that no idea can be formed of its probable age. It is small enough—only 8 inches in diameter at mouth and weighing only 13 lbs—to have been a sanctus or sacring bell. But few such bells survived the reign of Elizabeth, when they were mostly destroyed as "monuments of superstition". Some were sold, and being generally blank soon lost all trace of their original character. It so happens that we know the very year (1571) in which the church authorities of Crosthwaite were ordered by the bishop (Barnes) of Carlisle "to sell before the first day of December of the aforesaid year all the Popish relics and monuments of superstition and idolatry, as presently remain in the said parish, of the church or parish goods" (Whelan's *Cumberland*, p. 334). Whelan, who does not state where he saw the document containing this order, gives a long list of things commanded to be sold, amongst which were "three hand belles"; also "two silver chalices", in place of which were to be provided "two decent communion cups".

It is worth while in this connection to notice that the communion cup still in use at Loweswater bears the date 1571; from which it may be inferred that similar orders were issued by Bishop Barnes to other parishes. No doubt it was then that the "iij litill belles" of Loweswater, mentioned in Edward VI's Inventory, disappeared. Unfortunately

fortunately Crosthwaite is one of the churches the names of which have been torn off from the Cumberland portion of this inventory. But, approximately knowing their places in the inventory, in which the Cumberland churches are arranged according to the county wards, we are able to recognise the Crosthwaite list of church goods in one which mentions "iij prch (parish) iij litill belles". The "iij litill belles" we identify with the "three handbells" subsequently sold in 1571. The "iij prch belles" doubtless, like other Cumberland parish bells, survived not only the confiscations of the reign of Edward, but the iconoclasm of that of Elizabeth; though why such bells, with their inscribed invocations to saints, escaped destruction in Elizabeth's reign as "monuments of superstition", can only be explained upon the supposition that no one knew what the inscriptions were; which is likely enough, seeing how many custodians of mediæval bells to this day are altogether ignorant of the inscriptions they bear. The "iij prch belles" then, of which we catch a momentary glance in 1552, may have been identical with three Crosthwaite church bells, the items for ringing of which, in the reign of Queen Anne, appear in the earliest extant pages of the churchwardens's accounts. The ringing at that time seems to have been confined to "ye Sabath Days". There is no record of "rejoicing peals", as at Penrith and other places, for royal anniversaries. Even "ye Gunpowder Day" had no other recognition in the Crosthwaite churchwardens' accounts than this:—"Spent in Ale on ye 5th November at Nich Graves o 5 o". At one time and another a good deal was spent in ale at the house (evidently a public house) of Nicholas Graves, who was, as recorded on his tombstone, "clerk of this parish 56 years". Probably the ringers came in for a fair share of the ale. If they did ring on the 5th of November, then it would seem they were paid in ale. Their wage in money was little enongh, only 4s. each a year. But they eked

eked it out by doing odd jobs about the church, impartially distributed among them by the churchwardens. One of them, Gyles *Z*inogle, bore a name evidently foreign to Cumberland. A descendant of one of the "German miners" mentioned by Mr. J. Fisher Crosthwaite, in his paper on the Crosthwaite Registers, "settling here in the reign of Elizabeth", he had the good fortune to live at a time when his family name had not yet degenerated, as found by Mr. Crosthwaite in a later generation, into "Snoggles". His principal achievement was taking charge of "ye great bell", at least as far as Whitehaven, when it went in 1714 to be recast at Dublin. The items of expenditure for the voyage and recasting, which occupy a whole page of the churchwardens' book, will be found *in extenso* in a paper contributed by Mr. Crosthwaite to this Society's Transactions, vol. viii, p. 48, to which reference should be made. In our day it would seem strange to send a bell to be recast at Dublin. But in those days it was easier and cheaper to send a heavy bell to Dublin than to London. To London itself, fifty years later, the old Penrith bells went by sea, viâ Newcastle, and their successors came from London by the same route. The payment of a fourth ringer in 1729 is the only hint the churchwardens give in their accounts of the addition in that year of a new member to the Crosthwaite peal; which must, therefore, have been a gift. The peal, thus reinforced, doubtless by a new treble, remained until superseded in 1775 by the six Whitechapel bells; the arrival of which, as they were not paid for by a rate, receives no other notice in the churchwarden's book than had been accorded to the new treble in 1729. For many interesting particulars concerning the Whitechapel peal of six, and the present mixed peal of eight, the reader is referred to the late vicar's * papers in

* The Rev. Canon Richmond.

the

the Parish Magazine, and to Mr. Crosthwaite's paper just mentioned. It only remains to conclude our notice of the old bells with the following description of them from the terrier of 1749 :—

Four Bells with their frames the least thought to weigh about Six Hundred the Second about Seven Hundred and the Third about Eight Hundred and the biggest about eleven hundred."

Yet something else, we would fain hope, may still remain to be told, if we can but recover it, concerning those old bells. Tradition says that two of them went to Whitehaven. But tradition, we have seen, is not infallible. Doubtless it has often a germ of truth. The old bells may, all four of them, have gone to Whitehaven, but not to remain there. They may have gone viâ Whitehaven, like the old Penrith bells viâ Newcastle, by sea to London, there to be relegated to the Whitechapel furnace. Let us hope that such was not their fate, and that investigation of Whitehaven belfries may result in adding another chapter to the story of the old Crosthwaite bells.

DISTINGTON.

There are two bells here, in a double cot on the west gable of the old church :— *

	Note.	Diameter.	Weight.
Treble.	C	1ft. 4in.	1 cwt.
Tenor.	B♭	1ft. 7in.	1¾ cwt.

The treble has, in rather small Lombardic letters, this legend :

+ SANCTE ⁝ CUDBERTE ⁝
ORA ⁝ PRO * * * NOBIS
✠ U C ✠

* NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—This Account was written in 1885.

The

The initial cross seems in the rubbing a plain Greek cross. The intervening stop is three roundlets between two perpendicular lines. The asterisks given above represent a stamp which consists of four perpendicular lines, inclosing three diamonds, with a horizontal line laterally bisecting them; and the same stamp occurs in six places above the legend. The letters U C, which are larger than the other letters, have a stamp (apparently a flower) on each side of them. These two letters are considered by Mr. Stahlschmidt, to whom the rubbings have been forwarded, as the initials of the founder; the U, as in the word UESTMORLAND on the old town clock bell at Carlisle, standing for W. What was the name or locality of this founder it is impossible to say. His lettering seems to be identical with that on the old Loweswater tenor, now in Crosthwaite parish room, and considered from its lack of space, stop, or mark of any kind between its words, to be an early 14th century bell. Mr. Stahlschmidt thinks that the presence of such marks on the Distington treble, and especially "the insertion of the ornament between PRO and NOBIS" indicate "later work than Loweswater". He notes also that the U at Distington is of different type from the rest of the lettering, probably indicating the founder as "a successor of the founder of the Loweswater tenor", the set of type being imperfect when he succeeded to the business. It is to be remarked, however, that, as there is no U in the Loweswater inscription, we do not as yet know what kind of U would have been used, if wanted, in that inscription. One other remark it may be worth while to make, viz., that the Distington U, which is a very curious letter, is identical with the U in ERASMUS on the second bell at Greystoke*; which, by the way, is unlike any other U in that long and puzzling

* These *Transactions*, vol. xi, pp. 134-151.

inscription.

inscription. There is nothing more to be noted at present concerning the Distington treble, except that the S in SANCTE is reversed, as in SANCTA at Loweswater; and the last letter in NOBIS at Distington can only be identified as S by its position, apparently owing to some injury in the stamp.

The tenor has, in much larger Lombardic letters, not at all resembling those on the treble, the following inscription:

+ SANCTE + CHRISTOFORE +

"Very quaint indeed", says Mr. Stahlschmidt, "as regards lettering". It is no use attempting to describe the letters, some of which are altogether unlike anything that has yet come come under my notice. The cross seems the same as on the treble; yet, if closely examined, might be found to be somewhat different, as crosses often do not come out well in rubbings. If it should be found that the same kind of cross is on both bells, it will be reasonable to infer that they are from the same foundry, and perhaps of the same date, notwithstanding the difference of their lettering. There were often at the same foundry different kinds of type for large and small capitals; as may be seen from the two inscriptions, both Lombardic, but differing from each other in character of type, on the second bell at Dacre.

It is therefore to be desired that, when the bells are being removed, casts should be taken of their crosses, stamps, and some of their letters; and, for guidance of those who may be at hand during the removal, I will here state what casts will suffice. For the treble RA : PRO ***N, and U C ✝ ×. For the tenor × SANTE. Both of the bells should also then be photographed; as there is something to be learned concerning the age of a bell from its shape.*

* NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—It is to be feared the opportunity was lost: this paper was in print in a newspaper in 1885. See note at end.

These

These two bells, interesting in themselves as relics of mediæval times, have the further interest of affording additional proof that none of the bells of Cumberland churches were confiscated by Edward VI's commissioners who reported as belonging to Distington in 1552

ij prch belles ij litill belles.

The "ij litill belles", no doubt, whether sanctus, sacring, or hand bells, were removed in accordance with the injunctions in the reign of Elizabeth. But the "ij prch (parish) belles" of 1552 are beyond doubt identical with the pair that still remain.

The dedication of Distington church is unknown; and the rector asks whether any light is thrown upon this point by the bell inscriptions. It is likely enough that they do afford a clue to the dedication; though it would be very unsafe to give an affirmative answer to such a question in any of the southern or midland counties. In Cumberland, however, such evidence as has yet come to hand seems to point to the inference that it was the rule to dedicate one of the bells to the patron saint of the church. But, if so, it still remains to be settled which of the two Distington bells bears the name of the church's saint. Formerly it would have been said that St. Christopher must needs be the tutelar saint of the church, as his name is on the tenor. But that is now an exploded theory, clearly seen in many cases to be erroneous, as at St. Michael's, Burgh by Sands, where St. Michael's name occurs on the treble. If, then, the Distington dedication may be assigned to one of the two saints whose names are on the bells, there can be no doubt that Cumberland antiquaries will be unanimous in assigning it to St. Cuthbert, to whom as many as sixteen churches in the county are dedicated, whilst there is not one to St. Christopher. By the way, I must not omit to mention that to Mr. Stahlschmidt is due the credit of identifying the name

name on the treble as CUDBERT. The first letter had been thought by others, including myself, to be E; and we thought the name was a bungling version of Hubert. But, when once suggested, it is not difficult to see that the name is Cudbert.

It is very probable that if the southern part of Cumberland and the whole of Westmorland were to be thoroughly explored they would be found to possess a larger percentage of mediæval bells than any other part of England; and it is to be hoped that other rectors and vicars will follow Mr. Hodgson's example, and ascertain what inscriptions their church bells bear.

Of "peculiar usages" there are at Distington (1) the death knell, without indication of sex or age; (2) the after-burial bell; (3) the sermon bell, "rung during the hymn after matins when there is no communion", probably the only survival of its kind in the diocese; and (4) the sacrament bell, formerly rung after the sermon, but transferred by the present rector to "the commencement of the communion office".

HOLME CULTRAM.

A double cot on the west gable of Holme Abbey, contains two bells: one of which 27 inches in diameter, weighs about 4½ cwt: the other is 21 inches in diameter, weight about 2¼ cwt.

The larger of the two is inscribed :—

PACK AND CHAPMAN, LONDON, FECIT, 1771.
CHURCHWARDENS
JOSEPH THOMPSON SAMUEL PATTINSON
THOMAS SALKELD INO ROBINSON

This bell is from the Whitechapel foundry, the successive proprietors of which, during the last 140 years, may be almost

almost continuously traced from inscriptions on bells in this neighbourhood. Thomas Lester, when sole proprietor, recast the Hexham ring in 1742: Lester and Pack the Penrith ring in 1763; Pack and Chapman, the founders (in 1771) of the Holme Cultram bell, cast the Lanercost bell in 1773, and recast the Crosthwaite (Keswick) ring in 1775; W. and T. Mears cast a bell for Egremont in 1788: Thomas Mears the Brampton ring in 1826 and the Talkin bell in 1842: C. and G. Mears the Edmond Castle bell in 1847: Mears and Co. the St. Stephen's (Carlisle) ring in 1864; and Mears and Stainbank the St. Cuthbert (Carlisle) bell in 1876. Of the work of Thomas Lester's predecessors, from Robert Moate downwards, no specimen has hereabouts yet come to light.

But a bell cast by Robert Moate himself, who died in 1608, would be junior by more than a century to that which shares with Pack and Chapman's bell the double cot at Holme Abbey. This interesting relic of mediæval times bears, in small black letter, running quite round, the following inscription:—

ihs : thomas : york : abbas : de : holm
cu · dominio : anno dni · mill.cccc.lxv :

The inscription is surmounted throughout by trefoil ornament. Below the date is what seems to be the founder's stamp, unlike any given by Mr. North or Dr. Raven, three griffins passant, the middle one to dexter, the other two sinister, inclosed in a rectangular oblong. A dated mediæval bell is a rarity. Three bells of the ancient Hexham ring bore date 1404 (*Handbook to Hexham*, by Jas. Hewitt, p. 100). But the earliest dated bell in Rutland is post-reformation (*North* p. 39). Dr. Raven says:—

To what cause the absence of dates on our mediæval bells is due is a great mystery; but the fact remains. There is not a dated ante-Reformation bell in Cambridgeshire, which runs very short in mediæval specimens *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, p. 12).

For

For reasons already given in these papers it may be hoped the number of mediæval bells in Cumberland will be found to be above the average of other counties; and their inscriptions, when in Gothic capitals, as at Cumrew, may be indicative of a period earlier even than that of the small black letter inscription at Holme Cultram: but we can scarcely expect to find in Cumberland another dated pre-Reformation bell. The dated inscription now before us is of special value, as it recovers a long forgotten name, and informs us where to place it in the incomplete list of the abbots of Holme Cultram, thus given by Bishop Tanner:—

HOLME CULTRAM ABOTTS.—Everard 1175, died 1192. Gregory 1192. William resigned 1215. Adam elected 1215. Hugh elected 1223. Gilbert died 1237. John 1237, died 1255. Henry 1255. Gervasse 1278. Robert 1292. William de Redekar 1434. Robert Chamber 1507 and 1518. *Notitia Monastica*, 2nd ed., p. xxxix).

Mr. C. Ferguson in his paper on Holme Abbey (*Cumberland and Westmorland Transactions*, vol. 1, p. 268), quoting from Willis, omits Gervasse, inserts a second Everard (undated) after Adam, a second Gregory (undated) after Robert, and adds Gawin Borrowdale, the last abbot, who, on the suppression of the monastery in 1538, became the first vicar of Holme Cultram, the parishioners having presented the following petition to Henry VIII's Vicar-General:—

That it might please your Lordship to be a meane for us to our Soveregne Lorde the Kynge for the preservation and standynge of the Church of Holme Coltram before saide whiche is not onely unto us our parish Churche and little ynoughe to receyve all us your poore orators but also a greate ayde socor and defence for us agenst our neighbors the Scots (*ib.* p. 270).

To the granting of this petition the Holme Abbey bells owed their escape from the fate which overtook the bells

bells of the monasteries at Shap, Carlisle, Wetheral, Appleby, and Penrith. Their number is shown in the following extract from Edward VI's Inventory of Church Goods in 1552, the missing portion of which, torn off from the original MS. on the right hand side, is here restored, as far as possible, in italics :—

Church of Holme Coltram	Itm one chales of silvr one . . . iij vestments iij copes ij tu*nycles* . alterclothes iij towels iij sur*pclothes* iij bells iij handbells one *holy water* ffat of brasse ij latten can*dilstiks.*

In 1553 a commission was issued for the confiscation of all church goods not considered necessary for divine service, when two of the above mentioned " iij bells ", if the commission was strictly executed, were converted to " ye Kynges use ". But such evidence as has yet come to hand points to the inference that in many places, perhaps everywhere in Cumberland, the commissioners, so far as the bells were concerned, did not fully carry out their instructions. The Cumberland Commissioners, for instance, when called to account, in 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, for their proceedings in Edward's reign, returned a " scedule " of " plate jewelles and ornaments " seized by them in 1553, but made no mention of bells ; a significant omission when regarded with reference to their instructions as to " plate juels *bells* and ornaments " *(MSS. in Record Office)*. Whellan, writing in 1860, in his account of Greystoke church, says (p. 543) :—

There are four very ancient bells, with inscriptions round them.

Bishop Nicolson, who was fond of deciphering inscriptions, would no doubt, had he seen the bells when he visited Greystoke in 1704, have given a complete account of them.

But the tower was " crack'd " and looked "threatening," and therefore he contented himself with hearing them, when

when he pronounced them to be "pretty tuneable" (Bp. N., p. 131). Perhaps some antiquary will tell us the true story of these bells, which, if all four of them be really "very ancient", will confirm the supposition that the Cumberland church bells were left unmolested by Edward VI's commissioners.* The Holme Abbey bells, however, if they survived not only the dissolution of monasteries in 1538, but also the spoliation of parish churches in 1553, had other and not less formidable dangers yet to encounter.

In 1600, on the 1st of January, the steeple of the church, being of the height of nineteen fathoms, suddenly to the ground, and by the fall brought down a great part of the church, both timber, lead, and walls. In 1602-3 the tower was rebuilt, and on the 18th of April, 1604, it was burnt down by one Christopher Hardon carrying a live coal into the roof. (*C. and W. Archæological Transactions*, vol. i., p. 274.)

If on one or both of these occasions the bells fell with the tower, it is a matter for surprise that even one of them escaped destruction. Yet the terrier of 1749 has this entry:—

Two bells with their frames, the less thought to weigh about five hundred weight, and the bigger about seven hundred weight.

Accuracy is not a characteristic of terrier weights. Therefore, as it is evident that "the less" of these two bells, which must needs be identified with Abbot York's bell, was "thought" to be more than double its real weight, we may doubt whether "the bigger" was correctly thought to be "about seven hundred weight." Perhaps 4½ cwt. would be nearer the mark, that being the weight of its successor, for which it may have supplied the metal, pro-

* NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—Mr. Whitehead has himself told the story of the Greystoke Bells: see these *Transactions* vol. xi, pp. 134 to 151.

badly

bably being itself cracked, and therefore ordered to be recast in 1771: and, if so, it is well that it was at least big enough to supply all the metal that was required for the new bell, else Pack and Chapman, as at Lanercost two years later, might have been directed to found both the old bells into one, and Thomas York's bell, after surviving the dissolution of the monasteries, the spoliation of the parish churches, the falling of the abbey tower, and the burning of the abbey itself, would have been relegated, like many of its mediæval contemporaries—*e.g.*, the famous bells of King's College Chapel(*Raven*, p. 58)—to the Whitechapel furnace. It may still be in some danger. The Rev. W. F. Gilbanks, to whom we are indebted for the inscriptions and diameters of the Holme Cultram bells, writes :—

> The mediæval bell has a good note of A when struck, but the present mode of ringing, which allows the clapper to stay too long on the bell, together with the want of canons, necessitating iron straps, at present badly fitted, causes it almost to seem cracked.

Improper modes of ringing have much to answer for. The Trinity (Carlisle) bell was cracked through being rung with a cord tied to the clapper. The old St. Cuthbert's (Carlisle) bell was cracked in the same way. The same mode of ringing, still adhered to at St. Cuthbert's, will probably sooner or later prove fatal to the present bell; for which, however, a successor, of equal diameter, and not much less antiquity, can easily be found. But a bell like that of Holme Cultram

> when once destroyed can never be supplied.

Thus ends, so far as it has yet been possible to trace it, the story of the eventful career and hair-breadth escapes of what is probably the most interesting bell in the county of Cumberland.

But

But among the multifarious papers relating to the abbey, some of which are in the parish chest and others in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, there may be documents which would throw further light on the history of the abbey bells, and in particular on the casting of them, if not by the monks themselves, at all events under their superintendence, after the manner thus described by Mr. North :—

In the middle ages, when roads were bad, and locomotion difficult, bells were frequently cast within the precincts of religious houses and in churchyards, the clergy or monks standing around and reciting prayers and chanting psalms. . . . . During excavations in the churchyard of Stafford, Leicestershire, some years ago, indications of the former existence of a furnace for the casting of the church bells there were discovered, and a mass of bell-metal was found, which had clearly been in a state of fusion on the spot, and a similar discovery was made about four years ago in the churchyard of Emmpingham, Rutland. (*Church Bells of Rutland*, pp. 10, 11).

Sometimes bells were cast within the church itself. Dr. Raven, after mentioning the fall of the central tower of Ely cathedral in 1322, says :—

A little more than twenty years after this we find great works in bell casting going on in the cathedral under the superintendence of Alan de Walsingham, prior, and Robarte Aylesh'm, sacrist. (*Church Bells of Cambridgeshire, p.* 5.)

Of these "great works in bell casting" at Ely no traces now remain but the grooves worn by the bell ropes, discovered by the present bishop of Carlisle, when he was dean of Ely (*ib.* p. 8). But from the role of the sacrist Dr. Raven has transcribed the account for the "works," from which it appears that the bells, four in number, one of which was called "Walsynghame", after the prior, were cast by one "Master John of Gloucester." Some one may yet discover the name of the founder and the account

account for the casting of the Holme Abbey bells. Meanwhile it is a matter for satisfaction that one of them, more fortunate than the bells of Master John, still survives, in its fifth century, to preserve the name of Abbot Thomas York.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—The accounts of the Brigham, Cockermouth, Crosthwaite, Distington, and Holm Cultram Bells are reproduced from various newspapers, in which they had been printed under Mr. Whitehead's supervision, some of them so long ago as 1885. They lack, therefore, the final revision, which Mr. Whitehead intended to give them, in the light of increased information. See footnote *ante* p. 256.

ART. XVIII.—*Aske's Rebellion*, 1536-7. BY GEORGE WATSON, Penrith.

Communicated at Coniston, Sept. 16th, 1896.

THE purpose of this paper is to gather from the State Records the story of the part Westmorland and Cumberland took in the great rising in 1536-7, in the reign of Henry VIII, variously styled "The Northern Rebellion," "Aske's Rebellion," and "The Pilgrimage of Grace."

It is, however, desirable to review, briefly, the origin of the rising, to understand fully the part which Westmorland and Cumberland took.

King Henry, in his zeal for the subversion of papal authority in England, obtained despotic power from Parliament for the suppression of monasteries, and for the levying of money upon all classes of his subjects; these severities, added to his vexatious prohibition of popular holidays, aroused a storm of indignation which burst into open revolt on the 3rd day of October, 1636, as detailed in the following extracts.

The records are extracted from the Calendars of State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII, for the years 1536-7, edited by Gardner; references are made in connection with each article, stating dates (when given), and the Calendar number.

The public records, however, give only fragmentary accounts of the rising in Westmorland and Cumberland, and it is not until peace was restored and the three prominent leaders in these counties were on their trial in the Tower of London, that we get from their depositions anything like a consecutive history of the rebellion in the two counties.

The

The account of the first rising in Lincolnshire is from Calendars of State Papers, vol. XI, 1536.

THOMAS LORD BURGH TO HENRY VIII.

[Cal. No. 533. 3rd Oct.]

Sir William Askew, and other your Grace's commissioners of your subsidy appointed to sit at Caster this Tuesday requiring me, Sir Robert Tyrwytt, and others to be with them; suddenly came thereby a great multitude of people from Loweth, and was within a mile of us. Thereupon the inhabitants made us a direct answer that they would pay no more silver, and caused the bells to be rung "a larome". There was no remedy but to return to our houses, and the people so fast pursued that they have taken Sir Robt. Tyrwytt, Sir William Askew, Thomas Portyngton, Sir Thomas Messendyn, Thomas Mowne, with other gentlemen. I hear the commonalty increase to them "and I fear will do more, because they have taken the gentlemen who have the governance in those parts under your Highness." I have sent to my lord Steward, the lord Darssy, and others to be in readiness "to make them a breakfast." Sanby, Tuesday night, 3 Oct.

SIR ROBT TYRWHYT AND THREE OTHERS TO HENRY VIII.

[Cal. No. 534.]

This 3rd October we, by your commission for levying your second payment of your subsidy, were assembled in Caster, Linc. There were at our coming within a mile of the town 20,000 of your "true and faithful subjects" assembled because the report went that all jewels and goods of the churches were to be taken away to your Grace's Council, and people put to new charges. They swore us to be true to your Grace and to take their parts and then conveyed us from Caster to Louth, 12 miles distant, where we remain till they know further of your gracious pleasure. Desire a general pardon, "or else we be in such danger that we be never like to see your Grace nor our own houses," as the bearer can show, for whom we beg credence. Your said subjects have desired us to write that they are at your command "for the defence of your person or your realm." Signed: Robt. Tyrwhyt, William Ayscugh, Edward Madeson, Thomas Portyngton.

G. EARL

G. EARL OF SHREWSBYRY TO HENRY VIII.

[Cal. No. 536.]

This morning one Meryng of Sonbye, Notts., came to me from lord Burrowe to show me that your commons about Horne Castle were assembled to the number of 3,000. The assembly began on Saturday last, and yesterday they sent to my lord Burrowe to be their captain or else they would pull him out of his house at Gaynysburrowe this day, whereupon he came by night to Meryng's house. They had taken your commissioners of subsidy, viz., Sir Wm. Askewe, Tyrwyt, and Skypwyth, knights, and Turney and Portyngton, esquires, and sworn them to be true to Horne Castle and them. Also they had taken your Grace's surveyors at the priory of Lowth park, Linc., and burnt their books before their faces. I had no notice in writing, but he that brought me the message is a substantial gentleman. Begs to know what to do. At my poor lodge in Shefeld Park, 4 Oct. Signed: "G. Shrouesbury."

CHR. ASCUGH, GENTLEMAN USHER TO THE KING, TO CROMWELL.

[1536, 6 Oct. Cal. No. 567]

Has been as far as he could without being taken by the insurgents. They number 10,000 or 12,000 spears, well harnessed and 30,000 others, some harnessed and some not. They are this night at Lincoln, "and there prepared for." The country rises wholly as they go before them. Thinks lord Hosey will be taken to-night or to-morrow by noon, for he dare not stir, and none of his tenants will rise for him. The journeymen will not abide with their masters, and no one is left in the towns who can bear harness.

About Stamforthe, Spalldyng, and Peterborough they are very faint in rising against the rebels. Advises that the gentlemen should have commissions to charge the people to rise and certify them that the King would come down. Hears that they murmur among themselves that if they hold not together they will be undone, for it is reported that they shall pay the third part of their goods to the King and be sworn what they are worth, and if they swear untruly other men will have their goods. Some of them have gone to Gainsborough, and say they will burn lord Borugh's house and all the town unless he comes in again, for he escaped by reason of a good horse, and his man was slain. They have hanged Mellessent, Cromwell's servant, baited Bellowe to death with dogs, with bull skin upon his back, with many rigorous words against Cromwell.

ARTICLES

ARTICLES ADDRESSED BY THE REBELS "TO THE KING, OUR SOVEREIGN LORD."

[1536. Cal. No. 705.]

1. By the suppression of so many religious houses the service of God is not well performed and the people unrelieved. 2. They desire the repeal of the Act of Uses, which restrains the liberty of the people in the declaration of their wills concerning their lands, as well in payment of their debts, doing the King service, and helping their children. 3. The tax or "quindezine" payable next year is leviable of sheep and cattle, which are now in manner utterly destroyed "in the said shire." The people will therefore be obliged to pay 4d. for a beast and 12d. for 20 sheep, which will be an "importunate" charge considering their poverty and losses these two years past. 4. The King takes of his Council, and has about him, persons of low birth and small reputation, who have procured these things for their own advantage, whom we suspect to be lord Cromwell and Sir Ric. Riche, Chancellor of the Augmentations. 5. Are grieved that there are bishops of the King's late promotion, who have subverted the faith of Christ, viz., the bishops of Canterbury, Rochester, Worcester, Salisbury, St. Davids, and Dublin. Think the beginning of all this trouble was the bishop of Lincoln.

Proclamation by Robert Aske, denying that they have assembled on account of imposition laid on them, but because evil disposed persons in the King's Council intend to destroy the Church and rob the whole body of the realm. Whether this be true we put it to your conscience; and if you fight against us and win, you put both us and you and your heirs and ours in bondage for ever. Therefore if you will not come with us we will fight against you and all who stop us. "Per me Robertum Askeum, in the name of all the baronage and commonalty of the same."

OATH TAKEN BY THE INSURGENTS:—

"Ye shall not enter to this our pilgrimage of Grace for the common wealth, but only" for the maintenance of God's Faith and Church militant, preservation of the King's person and issue, and purifying the nobility of all villains' blood and evil counsellors; so to the restitution of Christ's Church and suppression of heretics' opinions, "by the holy contents of this book."

Headed: Oath of all men sworn unto them.

"A

"A REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS COMMITTED TO SIR ARTHUR DARCY, KT., TO BE DECLARED TO THE KING'S HIGHNESS."

[1536, 17 Oct. Cal. No. 760.]

(1) Where the commons before arose in the Marshland, Holdenshire, Holderness, Yorkswold, and the East Riding; they are now up in the West and North Ridings, Wenssedale, Coverdale, Swaldale, Mydderdale, Kyrkebieshire, Messhamshire, Langestorth, Craven, Cleveland, Dent, Sedbare, and all Richmondshire and Yorkshire. They are 60,000—40,000 harnessed—and march forward so that they were expected before this castle this day; 20,000 entered York yesterday, while great numbers were before Hull and Scarborough Castle. (2) They have surprised many gentlemen in their own houses and taken Sir Chr. Danbie, Sir William Malorie, John Norton, Richard Norton his heir, Roger Lassells, (Robert Bowes and Richard Bowes), Sir Ralph Ellerker, jun., Sir Oswald Willesforth, Sir Thos. Metham his son and heir, and Sir Piers Vavasor, (Sir John and Sir William Constable, of Holderness), and also lord Latymer. My lord of Cumberland, on his way to Hexham, returned for safety to Skipton Castle with lord Scrope. (3) The commons swear every man, priest and other, and charge them, on pain of death, to come to musters, where they pick out the best men. (4) They cannot be resisted, for no man can trust his tenants, and few their own servants. (5) They spare no man's goods (and say they will have the King's money wherever they find it). ((6) Many would gladly leave them but dare not). (7) The castle is wholly unfurnished and the town of Pounfreet and towns about will not aid us. The Commons stop the passages for victual. (8) We in the castle must in a few days either yield or lose our lives. Pomfret Castle 17 Oct.

"THE [FALSE] REPORT MADE IN THE NORTH COUNTRY."

[1536, 18 Oct. Cal. No. 768-2.]

1. That every man shall bring in all the gold they have, and that it shall have the touch of the Tower. 2. "That there shall be no church within five miles, and that all the rest shall be put down," and all the chalices, jewels, &c. taken. 3. That every man shall be sworn what substance he is of, and if he is worth more all his goods shall be taken. 4. No man shall eat white bread, goose, or capon without paying "a certain" to the King; 5, and a noble shall be paid ror every wedding, burying, and christening. 6. No cloth shall

shall be made, but it shall be brought to a place assigned and sealed with two seals, and "his" name set upon it, and if it go in or shrink the goods of all those shall be forfeit. These things slanderously reported through the country make every man think they shall be undone for ever.

The answer of the King to this petition was not conciliatory, and matters became daily worse. The King appointed the Duke of Norfolk his lieutenant, with very large powers, which he could with difficulty carry out, as proved by the records printed in the Calendars.

THE REBELLION IN WESTMORLAND AND CUMBERLAND.

The following letters and papers relate to the progress of the rebellion in Westmorland and Cumberland up to the end of 1536, when the proclamation of a general pardon was made, which event appears to divide the rebellion into two parts, spoken of as "before the pardon," and "after the pardon."

HENRY [CLIFFORD] EARLL OF CUMBERLAND TO HENRY VIII.

[Oct. 1536. Cal. No. 927.]

Before my last letter to your Highness I had sent my son to Berwick because it was impossible to convey him to you by policy for fear of the commons who were then up everywhere. In going to Berwick he was espied and fled to Carlisle Castle, where he lay four days unknown. Then the commons of Westmoreland and Cumberland besieged Carlisle, and the townsmen would have surrendered, but my son came forth among them and said he "would stand as my deputy their captain and jeopardy his life with them;" so they promised not to give over the town. The commons passed by for that time, but it is said they will assault it again within eight days and you know there is there neither ordnance nor powder, and the walls are putrified and down. I have continually written to your Grace, but my servants have been taken by the commons, "and lastly my lord of Norfolk took my letters, not doubting but your Grace

Grace had the same wherein I declared unto your Grace" how the commons had robbed my parks. Since then they have spoiled my houses at Bardon and Carleton, which were so strong as to take three days in breaking. They have stolen my money and destroyed my evidences, and yet threaten to slay me and my servants. At my castle ot Skypton, 31 Oct.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

[1536, 2 Nov. Cal. No. 955.]

Proclamation of a general pardon to commons dwelling north of Doncaster, who have lately commited open rebellion, tending to the ruin of the country and advancement of our ancient enemies the Scots, who, his Highness is informed, do with great readiness watch upon the same. But as their offences proceeded from ignorance his Highness has caused certain books to be sent them, by which they may see and acknowledge their errors. Any of them shall have by suit in Chancery the King's pardon under his great seal free of charge for all offences committed before 1 Nov. last. Provided always that they apprehend and deliver to the King Robert Aske, Hutton of Snape, Kichen of Beverley, William Humbler the bailiff, Henry Coke of Durham, shoemaker, Maunsell vicar of Brayton, and four others to be hereafter named, of Tynedale, Ryddesdale, the borders of Lancashire, Kendal and elsewhere, who, as ringleaders are excepted from this pardon, together with all who hereafter incite insurrection. Provided also that they declare their submission before the duke of Norfolk, or his deputies, whom the King intends with diligence to send into these parts as his lieutenant-general. Charges them to be true subjects, and make no unlawful assemblies, and in case they refuse the King will come in person "with a mayne force and army" to repress their malice to their utter confusion. Windsor, 2 Nov. 28 Hen. VIII.

CUMBERLAND TO FITZWILLIAM.

[1536, 6 Nov. Cal. No. 993.]

Yesternight I received the King's letters, copy enclosed, The commons throughout Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and most of Lancashire are wilfully set and minded, and the gentlemen taken with them likewise, rather for war than peace and daily spoil those yet unsworn to them who are but a small company. The commons of Westmoreland sent unto Sir Wm. Musgrave and Jack, his deputy at Bewcastle, to be sworn; but they, together

together with Eske and Lune, as the Gramez &c., replied they would be sworn to no rebels, and if my son at Carlisle would give them licence they would have harried all Cumberland and Westmoreland. Sir Wm. Musgrave, seeing the town of Carlisle in danger came in and helped my son, wherein he has deserved thanks of the King. If the commons have not such answer from the King as will content them, they will congregate in greater numbers than ever. Give credence to bearer, my son Henry Clifford's servant. At my castle of Skipton, 6 Nov.

The following letter from the rebels at Kirkby Stephen shows clearly that Lord Darcy, while professing to act for the King and against the rebellion, was secretly the confidential adviser of the leaders of the rising, and confirms the Duke of Norfolk in his denunciation of Lord Darcy as "the most arrant traitor that was living." See Cal. No. 909, p. — .

THE COMMONS OF WESTMORLAND TO LORD DARCY.

[1536, 15 Nov. Cal. No. 1080.]

Ask him to show them some favour concerning the wealth of their country, by giving them advice, "concernynge the gyrsumes for power men to be laid a parte but only penny farm (?) penny gyrsum, with all the tythes to remayn to every man hys awne, doynge therfor accordynge to thair dewtye, also taxes casten emongst the benefest men, as well tham in abbett with in us as thai that is notte incumbent."

Wish to know Darcy's pleasure, what they do in these causes. Think that they may put in their room to serve God others that would be glad to keep hospitality, for some of them are no priests that have the benefice in hand, and some are lord Cromwell's chaplains. Accept no gentle men of thier counsel, because they are afraid of them as yet, "and to haffe nowte gyelt and sargeant corne layd downe, quyche we thynke war a great welthe for all the contrethe, and all the intakes yt noysum for power men to be layd down."

Ask for for answer in writing, for they have no more trust in him than any other. Kyrkby Stephen, 15 Nov. *Subscribed in the same hand as the text:*—"By your servandes, Robert Pullen to dethe, Nycolles Musgrayffe, the caytaynes of Westmerland, and ye commaunallyte of ye saym."

THE

THE EARL OF DERBY TO THE GENTLEMEN OF FURNESS.

[1536, 17 Nov. Cal. No. 1092.]

As it is thought that the commons of the barony of Kendall intend to come into Furness and Cartmell, and there take men sworn to them according to their unlawful appetite, and levy money, corn, and victuals, . . . he (Derby) has written to William Fitton, his deputy at Furness, desiring him in such case to assemble his strength, and call all Derby's servants and tenants, with the aid of all the gentleman of the country there, and that he endeavour to withstand the enterprise and take as many as possible by dint of sword and other politic means. If he can do this, let him keep his strength wholly together, . . . and if they invade the county, from Lancaster towards Preston, then he is to come after them and advance towards the earl of Derby, who God willing, will meet them ere they pass the county, to their displeasure. Asks the gentlemen to join the deputy, &c., &c. Lathom, Nov. 17.

THE DACRES.

[1536. Cal. No. 1331.]

Remembrance of the demeanor of the Dacres in Cumberland since the beginning of the insurrection of the commons.

Lord Dacre sent, 30 Oct., John Skelton of Armynthwayt to Lord Clifford to offer that, if the commons besieged Carlisle Castle, he would come and aid Clifford if the latter would come to his aid in case he were besieged in Nayworth. Clifford answered he would do so. On Friday, 3 Nov., the commons mustered at Bradfeld, three miles from Carlisle, and there Sir Chr. Dacre stayed them for 10 days from besieging Carlisle. Meanwhile lord Dacre secretly left the country, his tenants of Burgh, Bonys, and Gillesland being unsworn until after his departure. "[And] after the same appointment, the xv. [day of N]ovember, [a ge]neral muster w[as appointed] to be at a p[lace c]alled C . . . dbete, unto wh[ich place c]ome voluntarily Richard Dac[re] and took upon him [to be] grand captain of all Cumberland," and took as petty captains Chr. Lee, servant and kinsmen to lord Dacre, Wm. Porter, and Alex Appulby.

On Saturday, 9 Dec., when the duke of Norfolk was at Doncaster, Richard Dacre came to Carlisle with a company of Lord Dacre's tenants, and met lord Clifford in the church door; "and looked upon him with a haut and proud countenance, not moving his bonnet; and after going out of the churchyard chanced to meet Sir William Musgrave

Musgrave, and without speaking any word plucked out his dagger and took him by the shoulder, and would have slain him in case he had not leaped back from him and plucked out his dagger, and that one of the sons of the lard Fetherstanhagh had not with his dagger drawn leapen betwixt them." Dacre and Fetherstanhagh drew their swords but were parted. Dacre then went into the Marketplace and cried "a Dacre, a Dacre", and gathered a great company. "And thereupon . . . . . ends, as the lord [Clifford] had about . . . . . Castle . . . . . And the M[ayor] master Aglnby and other . . . . . n of the town" commanded Richard Dacre to avoid the market-place Dacre would not depart till the mayor and Edward Aglionby commanded the townsmen to harness, and then he went to his lodging and dined, and departed at his leisure, while the mayor sought protection of lord Clifford in the castle. Next Saturday* 17 Dec., Richard Dacre came Carlisle with some 20 men of Gillesland in harness for some unlawful purpose. Lord Clifford sent the mayor and Edward Aglionby to stay him, but he would not till he "perceived the lord Clifford, well accompanied, come to the market cross and make a proclamation for the k . . . . . the . . . . . tnes of th . . . . . "

As the year 1536 neared its close the King thought, by proclaiming a pardon, to pacify the rebels, and induce them to return to their allegiance. Accordingly the royal herald went through the northern counties making his proclamation in all chief towns.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

[1536, 31 Dec. No. 1392.]

"This is the right and true copy,† word by word, of the high proclamation of pardon granted and given by the King our Sovereign Lord's highness Henry the VIII., King of England and of France, Defensor of the faith, lord of Ireland and in earth under God Supreme head of the Church of England, Monday the 12th of November [? Decmber] the 28th year of the said our Soveregn lord's reign published declared and proclaimed in Wakefield by me Thomas Hawlley alias Clarensys King of Arms.

* The 17th was Sunday.
† No copy is to be found in the Records.

"The

"The said proclamation made in Halifax by me Clarensyus King of Arms, Wednesday the 14th [13th] of December, the reign of our Sovereign Lord above written; there was a son in law of Sir Richard Tempest.

"Item, also proclaimed by me Clarensyus in Bradford Thursday the 14th of the same month, Sir Richard Tempest. Item, also proclaimed by me Clarensyus at Leeds the 15th of the same month, the under-bailiff of the town. Saturday. Item, at Skiktoune [qr Skipton] the 16th of the same month, one Mr Clifton with other gentlemen. Item, at Kendal the 19th the bailiff of the town, four lords of Cumberland. Item, at Appleby, the Wednesday the 20th, Sir T. Wartonne with other. Item, Peryth, Thursday the 21st, Mr Dorley [? Dudley] and the Hi baylyfe. Item, at Carlisle on Saturday, the 23th of the same month, the mayor, the pryor, Eglyte. Item, at Cokermothe on Tuesday the 26th to Sir Thomas Warton Sir Thomas Crowemer (?)

"Item, the xxxjth of the same month at Lancaster, Sir Marmaduke Tonstall."

The proclamation of royal pardon which closed the year 1536, so far from pacifying the people, only increased their bitterness; they would not acknowledge their need for any pardon, and saw in the conditions of the pardon only a trap to make them inculpate themselves. The conditions attached to the pardon proclaimed through Westmorland and Cumberland the last few days of 1536 appear to have been lost, but may be inferred from the proclamation of general pardon Nov. 2nd, 1536, No. 955, which requires all persons desirous of obtaining pardon to sue for it in Chancery, and that they apprehend and give up to the King a number of the ringleaders named, and a certain other number yet to be named.

Only a few days after the pardon was proclaimed at Cockermouth, West Cumberland was in a state of anarchy, as described in the following letter.

THOMAS LAMPLIEWGH OF DOVENBY TO PETER MEDLETON.

[1537, 4 Jany. Cal. No. 18.]

My wife, Elizabeth my daughter, and my other children send recommendations

recommendations. The tenants of Broughton, on Saturday last, put the threshers of Sir Thomas Wharton out of "teyth laythe" (the tithe lathe or barn), of Broughton, and set a lock on the door, and yesterday your tenants did the same to your threshers at Talentire. Whereupon I sent for the bailiff and four sworn men, i.e., Robert Dogeson, Wheylwright, Wyte, and Nicolson, who came to me to-day and agreed to take off the lock and allow 14 days to see how the country ruled; but meantime your other tenants had gone to the barn and divided the corn amongst them. Remedy must needs be had at the law or by the law as you think best. I hear they will do the same to-day or to-morrow at Broughton, Eglisffeld, and Ceton, "but your tenants are the first that I hear of contrary their promise unto you and me to suffer eight days after other occupied in the country." If I would have meddled for you they uttered me plainly that 2,000 would take their part against me. I intended to have written by Wm. Lambert. There is like to be as ill a world in this country as ever was. Dovenby, Thursday, 4 January.

Signed in same hand as the text.

In his own hand.

I learn that John Dogeson has broken his son William's head for meddling at the barn on his behalf, and has, together with one Wm. Watson, refused to take any part in their acts. I shall send word to my lord Warden and his deputies at Carlisle and to my cousin Aglanby whom the commons here dread most of all this country. This Friday at night. "All on this side of the Pawper [Paper] by me, the said Thomas Lampliewgh."

HENRY EARL OF CUMBERLAND TO HENRY VIII.

[1537, 12 Jan. Cal. No. 71.]

Since the proclamation of your pardon by the herald there have been musters in Cumberland about Cockermouth, and some attempted in Westmoreland, "for the punishment of such as were there captains for such money as they had gathered among them." Also bills are set upon church doors about Harwod and other places in Yorkshire. Sends copy. The people are so wild that there is danger of further rebellion. As to the officers of the West Marches, there is good quiet with Scotland; but if the commons break again, Carlisle will be in great jeopardy both from them and the Scots. The walls of the town and castle are much decayed, as he has declared by sundry bills of petition, and could not stand the siege without aid. Desires credence for his son the bearer, and also for Sir Thomas Wharton

Wharton, and Sir William Musgrave, who, with Sir Thomas Curwen, have been in jeopardy sundry times, and whom he thinks it right to send up. Skipton Castle, 12 January.

The method of the rebels was, by the show of numbers and bluster, to overawe the gentry, and under threats of death and spoliation, to compel them to swear allegiance to the rebel cause; and, by making them assume the position of captains, to use them as buffers between themselves and an enraged king; in this way a veritable reign of terror was created. The following records bear upon this state of things.

HENRY EARL OF CUMBERLAND TO CROMWELL.

[1537, 12 Jan. Cal. No. 72.]

Heretofore during this troublous time I durst not write to you because the commons were so minded against you that if any man had been taken therewith he should have died without help. The country are not minded to continue quiet, as you shall see by the copy of the King's letter and of a schedule enclosed, which was set on church doors in Yorkshire. If Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Cockermouth break again, they intend to have Carlill sworn to them, and in that case, I fear the Scots would be doing. As the walls and castle are weak a garrison of 300 men should be appointed there. When the country is grown to any stay I intend to come to see the King. Give credence to my son this bearer. Skipton Castle, 12 January.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

[1537, 19 Jan. Cal. No. 163.]

The articles of a bill that was sent to the town of Richmond, 19 Jan. that the commons in every township should rise on pain of death and make all lords and gentlemen swear on the mass book to these articles. (1) "To maintain the profit of Holy Church, which was the upholding of the Christian faith." (2) That no lord nor gentleman take anything of their tenants but their rents. (3) "To put down the lord Cromwell, that heretic and all his sect, the which made the King put down praying and fasting." (4) That no lord nor gentleman go to London.

If any lord of gentleman refuse this oath, put him to death, and put the next of his blood in his place, and if he deny it, put him to death likewise, and so on. Truly

Truly a blood-thirsty "so on". The next proclamation, however, from "Kendal-land", breathes in poetical language, a much sweeter strain.

2 PROCLAMATION OF THE COMMONS:

[Cal. No. 163.]

"All commons stick ye together, rise with no great man to ye know his intent, keep your harness in your hands, and ye shall obtain your purpose in all this north land. Claim ye old customs and tenant right to take your farms by a God's penny, all gressums* and heightenings† to be laid down, then may we serve our sovereign lord King Henry the Eight, God save his noble Grace, we shall serve our land's lords in every righteous cause with horse and harness as custom will demand. Gentle commons have this in your minds; every man take his land's lord and ye have need, as we did in Kendilland, then ye shall speed, make your writing command them to seal to grant you your petitions at your desire. Lords spiritual and temporal, have it in your mind the world as it waveth, and to your tenants ye be kind, then may ye go a pilgrimage nothing you withstand and commons to you be true, through all Christian lands to maintain the faith of Holy Church as ye have take on hand. Adieu! gentle commons, thus I make an end, maker of this letter, pray Jesu be his speed, he shall be your captain when that ye have need."

SIR THOS. CURWEN TO SIR THOMAS WHARTON.

[1537, 21 Jan. Cal. No. 185.]

Asks him to show the King or Council the state of these West parts of Cumberland. From Plomlonde to Mongcaster "ys all on flowghter," and more rebellious than ever, both in words and deeds, nothing regarding the pardon. On Saturday 13 Jan., a servant of Dr. Lee's, called Robt. Wetlay came to Mongcaster and lodged at Roger Fylbeces house, and parson Wodall with him. Next day the country rose on him and took him to Agremonde, and on Monday to Cokkarmouth. All the people were assembled in the market place. Some said "Strike off his head," some said "Stick him." He was searched for letters from the King, and there were some found on him from Dr. Lee, but nothing in them concerning the King nor the

* Fines on a change of lords.
† Raising of rents.

commons.

commons. They all concluded to put him to death, but his life was saved for that day by young John Swenburne, by promising to bring him the next Monday to be tried in open market by 24 men whether he brought any other letters, as to the earl of Cumberland, Curwen or Whartton. If they can prove any letters from the King or his Council, they will put him to death. They have sent to all the places he came by as far as Skypton, to inquire. On Thursday, 18th inst., the commons spoiled all the tithe barns on the west side of Derwent.

NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

[1537, 14 Feb. Cal. No. 419.]

The bearers of the following news came to York expecting to find Norfolk there, and it is feared that they have been reported worse than need be. On Monday last, when Cumberland's bastard son, [Thomas Clifford] deputy captain of Carlisle, came to take two traitors at Kirkby Stephen, they keeping the steeple, his horseman, in great part strong thieves of the West lands, began to spoil the town, and the inhabitants rose to defend both their goods and the traitors. A skirmish ensued, in which one or two rebels were slain, and Thomas my lord's bastard son, was forced to retire to Browham castle. The country has since risen, some say 4,000 or 5,000 together, and are sending for others to aid them. Hopes to look on them by Saturday night. Thinks no such thing would have occurred if this enterprise had been handled "as it was promised me." Fountains, 14 Feb.

NORFOLK TO CROMWELL.

[1537, 16 Feb. Cal. No. 439.]

As I have written to the King of this ungracious business, I forbear to write to you, save that if Thomas Clifford had not brought with him the thieves of Ask and Levon, and that they had not spoiled, this had not happened. I shall this night have with me most of the nobles and gentleman, not daring to assemble the people, for I cannot trust them. This journey will "pluck out the bottom of my purse," but, this pageant well played, this realm shall be the quieter. I shall not risk anything. If lord Dacre's company come to our aid we shall beat them easily; if not we will keep them in play with our horsemen. Of my letter to Sir Chr. Dacre I, for surer conveying, sent two copies for diverse men. I have sent into Westmoreland Sir Thomas Wharton, who is come from London, and Sir Thomas Curwen, and four gentlemen of Westmorland that have been serving

serving with Thomas Clifford, whose names are in a bill, enclosed, to raise men. This night I will send 200 or 300 light horses to them, and have commanded them to fire the rebels' dwellings, to make them "scale,"* and, "if the traitors so sparcle," † not to spare the shedding of blood. As they are countrymen, I will send such as I can rely on. I will make haste, and on Sunday or Monday at latest we shall be busy with them. "Now shall appear whether for favour of these countrymen I forbare to fight with them at Doncaster," as the King showed me had been said. Richmond, 16 Feb.

NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

[1537, 17 Feb. Cal. No. 448.]

Your Highness hath as much cause to thank God as ever had Prince. Sir Chr. Dacre has shown himself a noble knight. He set upon the rebels when they gave the assault to Carlisle, and has taken 700 or 800: how many more is not yet known for the chase was not finished when these men came away. Among others the friar of Knaresborough is taken. I have to go thither near 50 miles and shall make all the haste I can possible, and do such execution that others shall be afraid. Never saw so many well willing noblemen and gentlemen to atone for their former fault. Thinks there are above 4,000 tried men and the best geldings he ever saw, and if any rebellion should break out he should bring such a band out of these parts as would be fearful for enemies to look upon. Thomas Clifford has atoned for his first blunder, for when they were broken he issued out of Carlisle and followed chase at least 12 miles. Barna Castle, Saturday, 17 Feb.

NORFOLK TO THE COUNCIL.

[1537, 19 Feb. Cal. No. 468.]

Thanks for their last letter, with the King's approval of his proceedings. Thinks, if he suffered to follow his own mind for one month, he could give his Highness satisfaction. Has so many places to punish it will require some leisure, as he must be present at every punishment and proceed by martial law; for if he were to proceed by indictments many a great offender would be acquitted as having acted against his will. There is no lord or gentleman of these two shires but his servants have been at this new rebellion.

---

* † Both words signify "disperse."

"And

"And, good Mr. Comptroller, provide you of a new bailey at Embleton, for John Jackson, your bailey woll be hanged Thursday or Friday at the furthest, and I think some of your tenants woll keep him company." You will hardly believe the trouble I have to keep the prisoners, there are so many. Carlisle, 19 Feb.

HENRY VIII TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

[1537, 22 Feb. Cal. No. 479.]

We have received your letters of the 16th, about the new assembly in Westmorrland, and your others of the 17th by Sir Ralph Evers, touching the valiant and faithful courage of Sir Chr. Dacres in the overthrow of the traitors who made assault upon Carlisle, reporting also the good service done by Thomas Clifford, and the perfect readiness of all the noblemen and gentlemen in Yorkshire and those parts to have served in your company against them. We shall not forget your services, and are glad to hear also from sundry of our servants how you advance the truth, declaring the usurpation of the bishop of Rome, and how discreetly you paint those persons that call themselves religious in the colours of their hypocrisy, and we doubt not but the further you shall wade in the investigation of their behaviours the more you shall detest the great number of them and the less esteem the punishment of those culpable. 2. We desire you to thank those that were ready to have served us. We have thanked Sir Chr. Dacres in the letters which you shall receive herewith, and will shortly recompence him in a way to encourage others. 3. We approve of your proceedings in the displaying of our banner, which being now spread, till it is closed again, the close of our laws must give place to martial law; and before you close it up again you must cause such dreadful execution upon a good number of the inhabitants, hanging them on trees, quartering them, and setting their heads and quarters in every town, as shall be a fearful warning, whereby shall ensue the preservation of a great multitude. That done, ye shall close up our said banner both for the advancement of ordinary justice between parties and for the punishment of other malefactors, for which also we send you the commissions for Westmoreland and Cumberland. 4. You shall send up to us the traitors Bigod, the friar of Gnasborough, Leche, if he may be taken, the vicar of Penrith and Towneley, late chancellor to the bishop of Carlisle, who has been a great promoter of these rebellions, (the witch of York)* and one Dr. Pykering, a canon Birdlington. You are to see

* Erased.

to

to the lands and goods of such as shall be now attainted, that we may have them in safety, to be given, if we be so disposed to those who have truly served us, for we hear there were among them divers freeholders and rich men. Finally, as these troubles have been promoted by the monks and canons of those parts, at your repair to Salleye, Hexam, Newminster, Leonarde Coste (Lanercost), St. Agathe, and such other places as have made resistance since the appointment at Doncaster, you shall without pity or circumstance, now that our banner is displayed, cause the monks to be tied up without further delay or ceremony.

NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

[1537, Feb. 24. Cal. No. 498.]

Since his coming to Carlisle on Sunday has put such order that besides rebels taken before he came, on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday there came to him in effect all the offenders in this last insurrection from Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Cockermouth, who submitted as humbly as could be, and if ropes enough had been found would have come with the same about their necks. But they were no fewer than 6,000, out of whom, by the advice of the Council and gentleman of these parts, 74 were chosen as principal offenders and judged to suffer death by martial law, your banner being displayed. Appointed Sir Ralph Ellerker as mashall and Robert Bowys as your attorney to prosecute them. They shall be put to death in every town where they dwelt. Twelve of them here for the assault given to this city, and as many as chains of iron can be made for in this town and in the country shall be hanged in them; the rest in ropes. Iron is marvellous scarce. By no means that he could devise could he try out more that were stirrers of this rebellion except such as be fled. Did all he could with the help of Sir Chr. Dacre, Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir Thomas Curwen, Sir John Lawmpley, and other gentlemen of these parts. Had he proceeded by jury, thinks not the fifth man of them would have suffered; for they say I came out for fear of my life, or for fear of burning of my houses and destroying of my wife and children, &c.; "and a small excuse woll be well believed here, where much affection and pity of neighbours doth reign. And, sir, though their number be nothing so great as their deserts did require to have suffered, yet I think the like number hath not be heard of put to execution at one time."

Has caused the vicar of Burgh to be taken, who at the first insurrection was a principal maintainer of the bishop of Rome. Can get no proof that he consented to the last rebellion, but he prayed

prayed for the Pope in the pulpit. If the King will have him "justified" it must be by *oyer determiner* under a commission to persons named in the enclosed schedule. Carlisle, 24 Feb.

NAMES OF PERSONS CONDEMNED TO DIE AT CARLISLE, 24 Feb. anno 28.

Co. Westmld.:—Thos. Tibbee, Robt. Rowlandeson, Edm. Playce, Peter Johnson, and Thos. Syll, of Kirkeby Stephen parish; Wm. Shawe, of the . . . . . ganlownd; Hugh Dent, Lancelot Shawe, Edw. Bowsfell, Ric. Wallor, John Bowsfell, Roger Gibson, Jenkyn Winton; Hen. Gibson, of Mallerstrang; Chr. Blenkensoppe, of the parish of Burgh; Wm. Wylkyne and Thos. Taylour of Sorbye; Thos. Westale and Rynian Wallour, of Soreby; Robt. Patrick and Hen. Gibson, Staynemore; Ant. Wharton, of Nateby; Thos. Wrey and Hen. Bursy, of Sulby; Thos. Sutton and Ant. Amontson, of Little Musgrave; Edm. Sponer and Smyth, of Assheby; Wm. Nelson, Rowland Raysebeck, John Hall, Hugh Beyle, Robt. Hodgeson, Wm. Waterman, Launcelot Dragley, and Hugh Stedeman, of the parish of St. Michael's in Appleby; Hugh Nutt, Ric. Burrell, and Geo. Morland, of the parish of St. Lawrence in Appleby; Thos. Jackeson, of Bongate; John Bryan, of King's Meburne; John Dobson, of Dutton: Gilbert Denyson, of Smardale; Thos. Hall and Wm. Wallour, of Hurteley.

Co. Cumbr.:—Thos. Burtbecke, Edw. Whitelocke, John Stephenson, Robt. Stephenson, Michael Grey, Wm. Stephenson, Sir Edw. Perith, chaplain, and Edw. Stephenson of Perith; Wm. Buntyng, of Grastocke; Robt. Goodale and Launcelot Richardson, of Newton; Robt. Fyssher and Thos. Bell, of Cockermouth; John Wilson, of Brygham, jun.; John Jackeson, of Emelton; Ric. Cragge, of Eglesfyld; Percival Hudson, of Perdishewe; Chr. Smyth, of Branthwayte; John Bewley, of Dereham; John Peyrson, of Talentyre; Sander Banke, of Wedoppe.

SIR THOMAS WHARTON TO CROMWELL.

[1537, 12 Mar. No. 641.]

According to the King's commands repaired to Norfolk at York, and before him into Westmoreland and Cumberland, where he did all he could to serve the King. After Norfolk's departure from Carlisle, went with the Sheriff of Cumberland to the execution of the traitors in that shire, and remained at Cockermouth and thereabouts. That country stands in good obedience. Repaired to the poor country

country of Westmoreland which is also obedient. The goods forfeited of those traitors amount to a good sum. My Lord of Cumberand has seized all in Westmoreland, and the sheriff in Cumberland. Thinks the goods in Westmoreland worth 300 mks., in Cumberland the third part thereof or under. The West Borders are quiet. Cockermouth Castle, 12 March.

By a refinement of cruelty devised by the King, the persons condemned to death were hung in their own localities, and there left hanging in the sight of their families and neighbours, no man daring to give them burial. Out of this terrible state of things arose the gruesome episode forming the subject of the following letters.

NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

Sends a bill sent by Sir Thos. Wharton and Sir Thos. Curwen of examinations of those who have taken down part of your rebels where they were hanged. They are all women—not one man. "It is a small number concerning seventy-four that hath be taken down, wherein I think your Majesty hath not be well served." Has not been well used himself, being kept ignorant of it so long, and that he can get no better knowledge of the illdoers in spite of quick messages. Desires to know how he shall punish offenders, both men and women. If my lord of Cumberland under whose rule all this was done be something spoken to, the offenders will be the sooner known. Sheriffhutton, 16 May.

SAYINGS OF CERTAIN WOMEN CONCERNING THE TAKING DOWN FROM THE GALLOWS AND BURIAL OF THEIR HUSBANDS.

(1) Of Janet late wife of John Jakson of Hemelton, traitor:—How she and Margaret Jakson her mother-in-law, Janet Symson, Isabel Adeson, widow, one Rodre's widow of Emellton, Janet Berkyd of Cockermouth and many other women, buried him in Cockermouth churchyard on a Monday at nightfall. (2) Of Chr. Smyth's wife:—She and John Hudson's wife, Necollson's widow and Newcom's widow of Brawnthat, and John Smyth's wife and Sander Buttermer's wife buried him in Brawntwhat churchyard on Shyer Thursday in the night. (3) Of Ric. Crage's wife:—She and Janet Harres and Janet Newcom of Egyllsfelde brought her husband's body

body home, but the priest would not suffer it to be buried, so she buried it in a dyke. (4) Of John Wyllson's wife:—She and Thomas Bell's wife, one Besse dwelling with Ric. Atkynson, Nan Newcom and Janet Dyckson of Bregham buried Wyllson in Brygham churchyard, on a Wednesday. (5) Of Percival Hudson's wife:—Brought her husband to Torpeno churchyard, but the vicar would not suffer him to be buried, so she took him back to the place he had lain, and three days after she and a women she had hired buried him in Torpeno churchyard at night. (6) Of Thomas Byll's wife:—Cut down her husband with a "thorncroke" and, with Janet Jenkyns, Besse wife of one Blandeman and 2 of her own daughters, buried him at daybreak in Cokermouth churchyard. (7) Of John Fyssher's wife:—She and other women buried him in Cockermouth churchyard. (8) Of John Buele's wife:—Knows not who cut him down. After he had lain 9 days where he fell, she wound him in a sheet, and 8 days after, she and Annes Burton, (?) John Wylson's wife, Ellen Stevenson, Janet Carde, and Ellen Man buried him at night in Deram churchyard. (9) Of John Peyrson's wife:—Did not know of his "lowsying" from the chain. Gave a sheet to Besse Matson to wind him in and afterwards, with Dan Symson's wife, John Staysse's wife, and Ric. Brown's wife, buried him by daylight in Brydekycke churchyard. *Signed*, Thomas Curwen—Thomas Whartton.

SIR THOMAS CURWEN AND SIR THOMAS WHARTON TO NORFOLK.

Have received his letters dated Sheroffhevton, 11 May, commanding them to inquire into the taking down of the traitors executed for their late rebellion. Have taken examinations at Cockermouth, Penrith, and Carlisle, and send the result by bearer: the people are anxious to retain Norfolk's favour and have aided the examinations. In Westmorland divers persons under the earl of Cumberland have been investigating this. In that county eight traitors were hanged in chains and in Cumberland six. Norfolk seems to impute remissness to them; refer to their former letter for their services to the King and his Grace, and beg favour. Credence for bearer. Karliell, 19 May.

"A brief remembrance for the cutting down of those that was hanged in ropes and chains;" upon examinations taken before Sir Thos. Curwen and Sir Thos. Whartton, 18 May.

Cases of Percival Hudson, Thos. Bell, Alex. Bancke, John Wylson, John Jackeson, Robt. Fyscher, Chr. Smith, Rycc. Crag, one Bewly, and one Person. All these except Bancke were buried by their wives

wives, who in some cases confess also to cutting them down and burying them by night. John Dawson is suspected by John Richerdson, clk., of cutting down Bancke. Crag's cousin and Bewley's brother afterwards died from the "corruption" of the bodies they cut down.

NORFOLK TO CROMWELL.

Sends a letter from Sir Thomas Clifford, concerning the king of Scots, and one from Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir Thomas Curwen with the copy of their certificate touching the taking down of the rebels in those parts. Wharton and Curwen's letter, which came this afternoon, will show that Norfolk was not privy nor pleased with the taking down of the offenders. Begs him to show this to the King.

NORFOLK TO CROMWELL.

Sends a certificate from Sir John Lowther of the offenders who took down and buried 74 traitors in Westmoreland and Cumberland. If the King is displeased at that matter not being sufficiently tried, will not be sorry that he should show it by his letters to those who have the rule there.

CROMWELL TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

The King is not satisfied with the depositions "taken of certain women anempst the cutting down and burial of the traitors in Westmoreland and Cumberland,"-which could not have come only of women's heads. If those depositions had been earnestly taken the truth might have been known. Norfolk must find out and punish the principal doers.

The following papers, dealing with the apprehension and trial, in the Tower of London, of the three principal leaders of the rebellion in Westmorland and Cumberland, Robert Thompson, vicar of Brough, William Colyn, bailiff of Kendal, and Dr. Townley, chancellor to Bishop Carlisle, afford a tolerably complete story of the rebellion in Westmorland and Cumberland.

The atrocious spelling of names in the depositions in the Tower, may doubtless be attributed to the London scribe, who took them down as best he could from the lips of men whose dialect he did not understand.

In

In No. 479 it has been seen that the King required the vicar of Penrith to be sent up, while in 594 and 609 Norfolk says he sends up the vicar of Brough, without explaining why the vicar of Brough instead of Penrith is sent, from which it would appear that a letter giving the reasons must have been lost from the State Records, and, singularly enough, just such a letter appears in Nicolson and Burns' *History of Westmorland*, in treating of Brough-under-Stainmore. Nicolson and Burn say:—"In the year 1537, 28 Hen. VIII, after Aske's rebellion in that year, we find a vicar of Brough, but his name is not mentioned in a letter from the Duke of Norfolk to the King."

Aglianby I doubt not or now hath shewed your highness what was done at Carlisle. And though none were quartered because I knew not your pleasure therein before; yet all the threescore and fourteen be hanged in chains or ropes upon gallowes or trees in all such towns as they did dwell in. And whereas your majesty would have send the Vicar of Perith to you it is not of Perith but of Brughe that your grace doth mean for there is none such, for whom I have sent to my lord of Cumberland for I left him in his keeping. And also I have for Doctor Towneley and doubt not within three days to have them both with me and so shall send them up.

Clearly this, or some such letter of explanation, should have come in between No. 498, Feb. 14, and No. 594, March 7.

In the three following articles we have the depositions of the two Cumberland, and one Westmorland, leaders of the rebellion, when on their trial in the Tower, wherein we get fairly consecutive accounts of the origin and progress of the rebellion, and we now learn that the name of the famous vicar of Brough was Robert Thompson; he was probably a Penrith man, as his mother lived there, and his sister was wife of Gilbert Whelpdale, one of the captains of the Penrith rebels.

There is no mention of a vicar of Penrith during the rising;

rising; Norfolk's expression referring to the vicar of Penrith, "there is none such," may indicate that the living of Penrith was then vacant.

The Sir (priest) Edwd. Perith, who was chaplain to the Penrith rebels, and carried the cross before them, was probably the priest of Bishop Strickland's chantry in Penrith church. He was one of the seventy-four hung for taking part in the rebellion.

NORFOLK TO THE COUNCIL (extract).

[1537, 7 Mar. Cal. No. 594.]

I do n[ow send] by Rudstone Doctor Towneley, against whom I can [find nothing] sith the pardon, nor of no great effect before. I hu . . . . . him in no such matter, the said Rudstone sh . . . . . him the vicar of Burgh,* aga[in]st whom my [lord of [Cumber]londe hath advertised me he can find no mat[ter since the time] of the pardon other than praying [fo]r the bishop [of Rome on]ly. Before he was of all other one of the wors[t].

NORFOLK TO CROMWELL (extract).

[1537, 8 Mar. Cal. No. 609.]

Sends to the King, by Rudstone, the bearer Dr. Towneley and the [vic]ar of Burgh, and will send Dr. Pykeryng [as] soon as he can cause him to [be t]aken.

[1537. Cal. No. 687.]

Examintion taken 20 March, 28 Hen. VIII., before Mr. Tregonwell, Mr. Layton, and Mr. Legh, doctors of law, in the Tower of London in presence of me John Rice, notary public.

Sir Robert Thompson, vicar of Burgh under Stanesmore, answers to the interrogatories as follows:—

On Sunday before St. Luke's day the curate of Kirkby Stephen left out, at bidding of the beads, St. Luke's day; whereupon the parishoners would have killed him, but he "took a sacring bell and rang it, and bade the said St. Luke's day as holyday." Next day they of Kirkby Stephen summoned the country to muster on Sandeforthe Moor, because they were up in Richmondshire, Yorkshire, and the bpric of Durham already. Examinate tarried till the men of Burgh and

* Robert Thompson, vicar of Brough-under-Stainmoor, in Westmorland. See No. 687. (Note in Calendars).

Kirkby

Kirkby were gone and then fled, by Warcopp and Sandefurth to avoid the mustering place, towards his mother's at Perith; but was arrested by five men with spears and bows and brought back to Standeforthe (*sic*) Moor to the captains of the assembly, Robert Pullayn, Nicholas Musgrave, Chr. Blenkensopp, and Robt. Hilton, and sworn. He was then allowed to go [to] his mother, returning next day. That day, Tuesday, they went to Sir Thomas Wharton's house, but he was fled; so they took his eldest son and appointed to meet on the morrow at Kirkby Stephen. Which they did, and then went to Lamerside hall, thinking to find Sir Thomas of Wharton and other gentlemen with Mr. Warcopp there, but found only servants, so Pulleyn took the keys of the house and appointed a day for Sir Thomas and Mr. Warcopp to come in or else lose their goods. Then Pulleyn swore men to bring in the goods of those who would not come to them; and settled that Nich. Musgrave, with his side of the water of Eden, should go down the one side and Robt. Pullayn with his side, down the other, to Perith on the morrow. Pullayn did so, but Musgrave tarried that Thursday night about Lowther and sought for Sir John of Lowther. On Friday Pullayn and his company returned from Perith towards Westmoreland, and at Amonte Bridge swore Mr. Dudley and others and then sent examinate to Perith to help the commons with his counsel at their desire, for Gilbert Whelton, [Whelpdale] his brother in law had the day before been proclaimed one of the captains there. They had gathered there, before Pullayn's coming, on a letter from beyond Stanesmore sent from the commons of Yorkshire, Richmondshire, and the Bishopric, commanding Westmoreland and Cumberland to assemble and take oath to be true to God, the Church, and the Commonwealth; and, that done, to restore suppressed abbeys and see that there should be no war with the Scots; and then the substantial gentlemen to resort to the assembly of the commons in Yorkshire. Went that Friday to Perith where they were assembling on Perith fell. The four captains of Perith, Ant. Hutton, John Beck, Gilbert Whelpedale, and Thos. Burbeck known as Charity, Faith, Poverty, and Pity, sent the copy of the "said letters" to Sir Edward Musgrave, who was then sworn with all the parish of Edynell. All the country about Perith was sworn; examinate ministered the oath, for he had been proclaimed Poverty's chaplain and their secretary; he also "instructed to the crier this proclamation at every meeting" which was devised by the captains and others and written by Sir George Corney, and other letters in the captain's and common's names. One Sir Edw. Perith bore the cross before them and was called the cross-bearer. The proclamation was to the effect * that, as the rulers did not defend them from thieves and Scots, they had chosen the four captains, who commanded all to live in peace and to say 5 aves, 5 paters, and a creed, &c. The captains appointed the next meeting, and at night all returned home and met on the fells in the day. Next day, Saturday the commons beyond Eden came and took the oath and were appointed to meet on Monday at Cartlogan Thornes; which they did; and thither came Dr. Townley, with townships about Caldebecke, and Dr. Townley, Richard Bewley and other gentlemen were sworn. Thither came Sir John Lowther and required certain men of Sowrebie to go with him to keep the "day of March." There they chose captains for Caldebecke, the barony of Greystock, the parts beyond Eden, and the Forest of Englewood, two for each. On Wednesday they met at Kylwatlyng

* Given in the original words.

Howe and Cuthbert Hutton, with the gentlemen and commons there, took the oath. There proclamation was made for the parson of Melburbie to come in; for he, Dr. Towneley, the vicar of Sowrebie, and the vicar of Edynnall were appointed "Chaplains of Poverty," to instruct the commons in the Faith on pain of death. On the Wednesday and Thursday the four captains in the chapel of Pereth followed ext. in procession with their swords drawn, and then put up their swords and ext. said mass, which they called the captains mass and declared the Ten Commandments and showed that the breaking of these was the cause of that trouble. One of the priests thought they should not have naked swords in church, so it was discontinued. On Friday next they assembled on Sanderdale Hill, where messengers came from Carlisle showing that Carlisle would take no oath, but otherwise would be with them. The commons who dwelt thereabouts said they were undone unless Carlisle took their part, "for Aske and Levyn and the Black Quarters would rob and destroy them"; for word came that divers men's goods about Carlisle had been driven away that day. It was proclaimed no one should bring victuals to Carlisle. Examinate lay at Cockermouth that night. On Saturday the meeting was at Mewtey Hill, three miles from Cockermouth, where the abbot of Holme, Thos. of Dalston and others were sworn, and the two captains appointed for the lordship of Holme. The council there ordered Sir John of Lowther "which was at Caerlill," the abbot of Holme, Dr. Townley, Richard Blenkow, and Thomas Dalston to go to Carlisle to know whether the mayor would meet the commons on Monday next "whether they would keep the commons' enemies, meaning the Scots thieves and robbers, from them," and that the mayor should take the oath of his brethren at Carlisle. The abbot, Dr. Townley, and Dalston, feared to go; so one Percy Simpson "said they would never be well till they had stricken off all the priests' heads," saying they would but deceive them." Then the crier, Thos. Berwick, commanded the honor of Cockermouth to meet the commons of Cumberland on Monday at Burford Oke, and all dispersed. Examinate went to Caldbeck and on the morrow to Dalston; whence the Abbot of Holme and Dr. Townley went to Carlisle with their message, and the vicar of Dalston with them; but they were not suffered to enter the city, and returned saying proclamation was made that the King and commons were agreed. They sent examinate to Perith: but no such proclamation had been made there. On Monday at Burford Oke, where the commons numbered 15,000, Dr. Townley gave the oath to Parson Melmurby and two brethren of Carlisle, and another message was sent to Carlisle, Parson Melmurby and Dr. Townley being two of the messengers. Examinate returned to Perith and went no more to the commons. Heard afterwards that Sir Chr. Dacres made a stay concerning Carlisle. Robt. Pulleyn went from the commons of Westmoreland to Robert Aske and was at the first meeting at Doncaster; and, returning to Appleby, proclaimed that priests should bid holidays and beads as before; and, with the aid of Nich. Musgrave and 24 others, drew up articles concerning "there gressuns and not gylte* and serjeant foude (?)," and that every man should have his own tithe corn, which was sent to Aske at York against the consultation there before the last meeting at Doncaster by Pullen and Musgrave and six others, with the vicar of Moreland and this examinate. Aske allowed most of the articles, and gave instructions to inquire into the visitation of Dr. Layton and Dr.

* The nout-geld, or cornage rent.

Legh

Legh and to get the opinion of the clergy of Westmoreland and Cumberland concerning the suppression of abbeys, supremacy, &c. The clergy would determine nothing, but wrote to the abp. of York referring all to him, which letter was stopped by Pulleyn. From Doncaster Pulleyn brought certain articles agreed upon at the meeting and to be determined at a Parliament to be held shortly. Humbly begs pardon of the King, for his foresaid offences, according to his petition in his own hand.

Also the "said captains and qwests" of Westmoreland confiscated the fruits of benefices of them that were absent, and "Sesses" the beneficed men present, for the maintenance of the commons. They also "compelled the gentlemen to seal to their demands concerning this and ingressions . . . . . or fines." More he knoweth not touching the first insurrection.

Had nothing to do with the last insurrection. Heard that because Robt. Pulleyn had paid his "nowt guylt," and put divers men in possession of lands and taken bribes, the commons grudged thereat; so that some about Kirkby Stephen would have pulled him out of his house in the Xmas holidays. Thus the country was put out of order. Shortly afterwards one Mr. Rose was robbed "and the country was afraid of burning." On Twelfth day the captain of Carlisle came (as was supposed) to take Nich. Musgrave. who gat him to the steeple with one Thomas Tybie. Then they of Kirkby Stephen "plucked down the new intacks or inclosures," and sent to other parishes to do the like, which was done at Burgh 28 Jannary. Then the captain of Carlisle came to take Musgrave and Tybie, and there was a fight. Was commanded by Thos. Tailor, Matthew Wharton, and Chr. Blenkensopp, in the name of the parish, to pray for the Pope; and "for fear of his life," bade the beads 28 Jan., commanding all to pray for the King as head of the Church and for the Bp. of Rome and cardinals. Then he fled to Clyfton, 14 miles off, and was there when the captain of Carlisle came to take Musgrave and Tyby and the commons rose and went towards Carlisle.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

[1527. Cal. No. 687.]

Confession of Barnarde Towneley, clerk.

The commons of Calbeyke, 23 Oct. last, by command of Mownse, John Beyke, Gilbert Weldall and W. Burkbeyke, captains of Penrethe, assembled and took me and Ric. Bewley and Ric. Vachell, gent., with them and met the commons of Penreth, the barony of Greystoke, Hutton, Shewlton, Soreby, and others at Cartlogan. There the vicar of Bowrght* under Steynes More in the name of the whole commons made us take the oath. Sir John Lowther and other gentlemen were present. On Wednesday after they brought me to Kylwatlynhow, where the vicar of Burght caused the crier to proclain that if the parson of Thurkyld and others would not attend them they should strike off our heads and set my head on the highest place in the diocese. On the Friday next the said vicar and commons came to Sanderdale; and there John Denton, Richard Blanderhorset and John Thowmson of Carlill came to them under safe conduct. After

* This and all other mentions of the vicar are marked with a cross in the margin.

they

they left the vicar caused the crier to cry that none should bring stuff to Carlill market. From thence the said vicar and captains of Penreth went to Cockermouth, and, on the Saturday after, came to Mutno (?)* Hill where the abbot of Holm was brought in by the vicar and John Dalston and sworn. There were present John Leght, John Shelton of Bramwegth (?), John Lampley, gentlemen, and others. The said vicar and captain appointed the abbot of Holme, Thomas Dalston, Parson Thyrkyll Richard Blenkehow, and myself to go to Carlisle on Sunday next and desire the mayor and his brethren to come on Monday to Bramthewthe Oke and take the oath and then return and swear the commons of the town, after which all would return to their houses. On Sunday the abbot of Holm and I came to Dalston and sent Sir William Robyn to Carlisle to speak with Thomas Dalston and see whether Parson Thurkylde and Ric. Blenkhow were come. He brought word there was a proclamation that no man should make unlawful assembly,—so we desired the vicar of Burght, who was at Dalston, to stop Penrith from coming down; albeit when he came to Penrith he and the captains gave warning "against morning," and said this stop was but craft and falsehood. On Monday next the honor of Cockermouth came to Burnthewth Oke and the said captains and vicar sent Richard Bewley, Parson Thurkylde, Lancelot Schaldwylde, Richard Blenkhow, John Swynburne, jun., and myself to do the message to Carlisle, and we sent forward two canons of Carlisle, Sir Ric. Huttwythe, and Sir Wm. Florens, to cause the town to meet us. There met us Richard Blanderherset and John Towmson, who brought the copy of the king's proclamation, which we immediately sent, with Bewnley, Salkylde, Blenkhow, and Swynburne, to the commons who thereupon dispersed—to meet there again on Friday next 3 Nov., all except the commons of Cockermouth. Parson Thurkylde and I showed our message to the mayor, who desired respite till the morrow. We then went back and found what stay had been taken, and sent Edward Patenson to inform the mayor of it. On Friday 3 Nov. the captains and commons of Penrith and most of the country except Cockermouth, came to Brunfelde Oke beside Carlisle, and thither came Christopher Dacre under safe conduct, and he and I, with Parson Thurkylde, Riche Bewnley, Cudbert Hutton, and others persuaded the commons, the vicar of Burght being absent, to disperse and make no further insurrection. Sir Christopher and I were to desire the mayor that the commons might be received in Carlisle as before, and I to desire the lord Clyfforth in the castle "that the soldiers should not ride on the commons." We went and showed this to the mayor, and proclamation was made of it; and then I and Edward Eglanby went to the castle and showed it to lord Clyfforth, who was well content.

Never after this came amongst the commons. Begs he may be partaker of the king's pardon to his subjects north of Trent, protesting he was with the commons against his will.

The beginners of the insurrection in Cumberland were the four captains of Penrith; Faith, Poverty, Pity, and Charith, as the vicar of Burght proclaimed them at each meeting.

The cause of the insurrection was that the vicar of Burght read a letter from Richmondshire, as he said, to this tenor, "Well beloved brethren in God, we greet you well, signifying unto you that we your brethren in Christ have assembled us

* Moota.

in

in readiness for the maintenance of the faith of God, His laws, and His Church, and where abbeys was suppressed we have restored them again and put the religious men into their houses, wherefore we exhort you to do the same." This he read, calling himself Poverty, chaplain and secretary." Knows not who brought it.

Conjectures that the intention was to destroy the gentlemen, that none should pay ingressoms to his landlord, and little or no rent or tithe.

The last insurrection by Westmorland, Penrith and Greystoke made a "sawtt" at Carlisle on Friday before the first Sunday of Lent. Heard of no captains but Nocholas Musgreve and Thomas Thebe, and never a gentleman among them. The commons of Cockermouth who came down the Saturday and Sunday after perceiving that Calbeyke would not rise, retired.

(ADDITION).—There were four captains in Cumberland—Thomas Byrkbek, Gilbert Whelpedale, John Beke, and Robert Mounsey—who went in procession in the parish church daily, when there with their 4 swords drawn, following the vicar of Browgh. After the Gospel the vicar gave them one of X commandments and this was called the captains' mass. The vicar was taken for a prophet.

ii. 20 March. Bernard Towneley, examined by John Tregunwell, Ric. Layton, and Thomas Leigh, Doctors of Law.

(1) Was in no way privy to the 2nd commotion. (2) Never sent but two letters to his master the Bp of Carlisle. The first was that he trusted, when the country was more pacified, to gather his revenues, the second was that after Norfolk was come, and the country quiet, he would "do his diligence for his discharge, meaning to gather the King's money." (3) Never had, at his last being here, any communication with the Bp of Carlisle concerning any intended insurrection or commotion.

WILLIAM COLYNS, BAILIFF OF KENDAL.

[1537. Cal. No. 914.]

Examination taken 12 April, 1537, in the Tower of London, before Dr. Legh, Dr. Peter, and Mr. Lieutenant, in the presence of me, John ap Rice, notary public, registrar, &c.

Wm. Colyns, bailiff of Kendal, examined, says that George Willan and Wm Garnet, of Dent, some 10 days before any insurection in Kendal, came to Kendal town and showed Sir James Laborne of the commons of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Richmondshire, who were up and had warned Dent and Sedbery to come in to them or the would come and spoil the countries of Dent, Sedberg, and Kendal. They desired advice of Mr. Layborne as steward there under Mr. Parre to withstand the said rebels. He told them to be still and meddle not, as they afterwards said to examinat, who also advised them not to meddle and said, "If we may enjoy our old ancient (?) customs here, we have no cause to rise." The said two persons before leaving Kendal that night, Saturday, talked of the insurrection with divers light persons of the town, who next morning at daybreak assembled divers of the North Street of Kendal, and roused men from their beds and

and sware them, in a croft by, to be true to God, the King, and their ancient laudable customs. The ringleaders were Tom Dockwray and Brian Jopson, as examinat afterwards heard. The person so conjurate decided to fetch in the honest men of the town, and fetched examinat from his dinner to a place called Tarney Banks, where the whole town was assembled without harness, and there examinat and the rest of the town were sworn. They all went thence to Mr. Laybornes and desired him to help them against their enemies, to be good to them concerning their laudable customs and to take their oath. He refused to swear them, but left his seal with his friends there, who promised him that he would do as other gentlemen did; and the same night Nicholas Layborne, in his brother's name, and Mr. Strikelande sealed to a book that was read concerning their customs. On Friday following six of the town went to Mr. Laybornes house, viz., Adam Warenner, George Rowlandson, John Harryson, Robert Sledale, Chr. Sadler, and this examinat, to have desired his help and favour but he was not at home. Both before the insurrection and after, examinat and others petitioned Mr. Layborne to be good to them for their ancient customs, saying that their was no reason that where his father took 4 mks. for an "ingressum" he should take £40, "seeing they were bound there to the marches without wages upon the wardens procalmation, beacon, or letter." They asked him to use his lands as the King and Mr. Parre did theirs, else Sir Robert Belingham and ither freeholders would do the like. On Saturday after Dent and Sedbar were up, as Richard Walker showed at Kendal; whereupon they of Kendal, by the advice of Ric. Tucket and Mr. Knevet, wrote to them of Dent not to meddle with the barony of Kendal "for they had nought to do with them." They replied that they of Kendal town should meet them on Monday after by 10 o'clock at Ennesmore, or else they would spoil them with 10,000 men. The townsmen sent to Mr. Layborne's brother Nicholas (who advised examinat to raise the town for defence, "but he afterwards himself sticked not by it") and to Richard Duckett and Mr. Strikelande for help; who came to the town's ends, but did not join the townsmen. On the Monday the townsmen to the number of 500 at Ennesmore met with Dent's 10,000 men, who asked whether they were sworn, and they said yes. They said their gentlemen would not come with them, whereupon they of Dent said "If ye can not rule them, we shall rule them". The vicar of Clappam, James Cowper, John Middleton, John Hebyllthwayt of Sedbar, Wm. Garnet and George Willan of Dent, and James Buskell of Myddelton, being the ringleaders, took counsel with the Captain Atkynson, and then the vicar, in the name of Captain Poverty, made proclamation for all to meet next day at Kendal by 8 a.m. to know the lord Poverty's pleasure. "The vicar was the common swearer and counsellor in all that business, and persuaded the people that they should go to heaven if they died in that quarrel".

On the morrow, Tuesday, they came to Kendal town, and from thence had gone half way towards Mr. Layborne's house, when on his friend's promise that he would come in on the morrow by 5 o'clock, and by reason of the foul weather, they turned back. On Wednesday they went thither again and spoiled the house indeed, but on his friend's promise that he should come in they went not to extremity then. On Thursday they were appointed to spoil both his manors, but his brother, Parson Layborne, gave them of Dent and Sedburg £20 to respite him till Friday following; at which time he and all the other gentlemen came in to the rebels, and were sworn at Tolbothe in Kendal. And so on Saturday they went to Lancaster, mustering by the way at Kellet More. Of gentlemen, the most

most noteable there were Sir James Layborne, Parson Layborne, William Lancaster, Ric. Ducket, and Walter Strikelande; Sir Robert Belingham came as far as Kelet More and then returned home as his leg was sore, as he said. Atkyson was captain, chosen by Dent and Sedber.

At Lancaster they sware the mayor and town, and heard that Sir Stephen Hamurton and Nicholas Tempest besides Salley had sworn the country about them. Young Strikeland, saying that Sir Stephen had written to him to come to him, examinat and his friends advised him not to do so, but to return home. They therefore made proclamation for all to meet on Bouton More the Tuesday after and dispersed. Within three days came a letter from Robert Aske, showing them of the first order taken at Lancaster and requiring them to "send of every parishen one gentleman and two yeomen of the tallest and wisest men, well horsed and harnessed, to Pomfret, that of them might be taken out a certain [number] to meet with the Duke of Norfolk at the next meeting at Doncastsr." Kendal town sent examinat and one Brown and the barony Mr. Ducket, Edward Manser, and Mr. Strikelande, Anthony Langhorne, John Eyrey, and Harry Bateman; and the morrow after Lady Day before Xmas they received the King's pardon at Pomfret, which they have to show in Kendal town under the king's broad seal at examinat's house, brought 14 days after Our Lady Day Clarencieux the herald, who made proclamation of it the said 14th day in Kendal. And because certain farmers of priories showed him how divers brethren took their corn from them "and therefore like to have been murder between them about the same," the herald openly commanded in the king's name that no man should be disturbed in the possession of lands or tithes, but all to continue as at the last meeting at Doncaster till the Duke of Norfolk came again to the country, which should be about 20 days after Xmas. As the herald was leaving, came two brethren of the late priory of Carpmell, and desired the herald to write that order for them; but as he could not tarry he begged examinat, his host, to write them a word or two of the effect of the order. And thereupon examinat wrote them the order to this effect—"Neighbours of Carpmell, so it is that the king's herald hath made proclamation here that every man, [under] pain of high treason, should suffer every thing as farms, tithes, and such other, to be in like stay and order concerning possessions as they were in time of the last meeting at Doncaster, except ye will of your charity help the brethen there somewhat toward their board, till my lord of Norfolk come again and take further order therein." This was written partly in presence of the said herald, Mr. Duckett, and others, and afterwards delivered by examinat to one of the said brethren. Four of the brethren of Carpmell and eight yeomen were executed for withstanding the king's farmer, Mr. Holcrofte, and stirring a new commotion 8 weeks after the premises, without the knowledge of the examinat or any other of Kendal. When he was at York on Saturday before Our Lady Day before Xmas he asked Dr. Dakyns if he would command him any service to the north. He said "Yes he would write to the abbot of Furness for money." Examinat answered "Seeing you were at Pomefrete and know what order was taken there, I pray you write also to the priors of Conyshedd and Carpmell, seeing ye be their visitors and give them your counsel what is best for them to do." So on the morrow examinat at his host's house, received Dakyn's letters to the priors of Conyshed and Carpmell sealed which he forwarded, on coming home to Kendal, by a market man. It was eight weeks after the delivery of these letters ere they of Carpmell and Conyshed made commotion and stayed the farmers from taking their corn. One Atkyson, a captain of the rebels

rebels in those parts, and Gilpyn, his petty captain, came, twice between the meetings at Doncaster and once since the pardon was proclaimed, to stir Kendal, and the last time cried, "Commons," but the townsmen drave them out, and hurt some of them, the steward and lieutenant being absent in another shire. On Sunday after Xmas Day last certain lewd persons of Kendal town who were the most busy in the first insurrection, stirred up suddenly at bead's bidding, and would have the priest bid the beads the old way and pray for the Pope. Then ext. fetched the King's pardon from his house, and he and one Bricket, the King's servant, charged them, as they would enjoy that pardon, to be still, and showed them the pardon. And they cried "Down, carle, thou art false to the commons." And Wm. Harryson said he cared for no pardon. At last parson Layborne rose and persuaded them to let the beads be bid, as the priest would until the Duke of Norfolk's coming. The principals of that business were Thom. Armestronge, Thom. Dockraye, Oliver Ydell, Peter Warrenner, James Taillor, jun., shoemaker, and Wm. Harryson. Ext. the same night sent to one Ducket, a justice of peace, and to Mr. Layborne the steward to come and punish the said captains. Ducket came and did his best with words, but the steward was out of the country. On that day month following, Sir Walter Browne, second curate there, upon a tumult by divers lewd persons, said "Commons, I will bid the beads as ye will have me." And so did, and prayed for the Pope and Cardinals. One John Nycholson, of Kendal parish, woolman, brought a little bill, without signature, directed to the parishioners of Kendal, that two of them should be at Richmond for a council to be had there the next Monday; which bill he delivered to a maid of ext's, and bade her deliver it to ext. This she did, and thereupon ext. went to Nicholas Layborne, the steward's deputy, and asked what punishment he deserved who should spread about such letters. Layborne sent for Nycholson and asked where he had the letter. He said it was sent him from the captain of Westmoreland, Nicholas Musgrave, with commandment to deliver it to a constable or bailey of Kendal. "And Nich. Layborne said he was worthy to sit by the heels therefor in the dungeon, and cast him the bill again, and bade him deliver it again where he had it."

After this the ext. and five others of Kendal, having been with my lord of Norfolk and the council at York, and being licensed to go home, to put the country in stay, returned home and found all the country stirring by reason of letters sent abroad by Atkynson, Leche, Musgrave, and Staveley, captains of Westmoreland, to this effect, "that they should come and take their neighbours of Westmorelands part." Sir Michael Nutthed was one of those who carried the letter. Ext. and his neighbours who came from York stayed the country from going forward.

As to the ultimate fate of Towneley, Thompson, and Colyn, there is much uncertainty. In a list of prisoners in the Tower, and the charges for their maintenance, we find Dr. Towneley eight months at 5s., and Robert Thompson three months at 6s. 8d. per week. Colyn's name is not in the list, and no dates are given. Things looked black for Towneley; in an ominous list of persons "to

"to be excepted from the King's pardon," stand the names of Nich. Musgrave and Towneley, late chancellor to the bishop of Carlisle. The only other notice of Towneley is in a letter dated 15th August, 1537, from Robert Aldridge,* almoner to the Queen, and bishop designate of Carlisle to Cromwell. He says:—

Received of the 14th inst., his (Cromwell's) letter, stating it was the King's wish that he should confer the Vicarage of St. Michael's, Appleby, void by the resignation of Bernard Towneley, on Cuthbert Ogle. Knows not the man's ability, but as the King and Cromwell take him for a meet man, cannot but think him so. Understands that he cannot cause him to be inducted before he is consecrated himself, &c., &c.

This would be written about the middle of Towneley's time in the Tower.

For Wm. Colyn there appears much hope. In a list of Cromwell's "remembrance" (matters to be attended to), is an item, "Pickering the priest's pardon"—"for Colyn's bailiff of Kendal." [1537. No. 192. Vol. 12, pt. 2.]

Colyn, under popular pressure, took part in the rebellion, but evidently used his influence in preventing excesses and preserving order, hence his prospects of pardon. But dismal indeed was the look out for the poor vicar of Brough, as indicated by the following letter.

ROBERT THOMPSON,† CLK., TO CROMWELL.

[1537. No. 1339. Vol. 12, pt. 2, no date.]

Was brought before Cromwell in Lent last for praying for the bishop of Rome at the compulsion of his parishioners, whom he durst not contrary, and committed to the Tower, and thence to the King's Bench. What with age, corrupt and stinking smells, cold and hunger, if not for the hope he had in Cromwell, he had not been alive now. Begs his intercession with the King.

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* Otherwise *Robert Oldridge*, bishop of Carlisle, 1537 to 1556.
† Note in Calendars "The Vicar of Brough."

APPENDIX.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS CONNECTED WITH ASKE'S REBELLION.

The 1st following report gives a graphic sketch of the rebel camp, and of the sympathy and practical countenance of the landed gentry, as well as the commonalty.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

Report made by Henry Osberne, of Gloucester, and John Yngby, constable of Maydynhyth, on St. Andrew's Eve last, and after to Sulvester Pecke, gent.

[1536, 29 Nov. Cal. No. 1195.]

Went Northward with his father, as a soldier with Sir Chas. à Trowen. After being a space with the King's host, asked leave of his father to go among the Northern host to know the fashion of them. Was with them three or four days. They have meat and drink enough, many of them harness of deer skins. Their chief captain is a knight, but he does not know his name. Lord Stafford came to them with 1,000 men, and lady Rysse with 3,000. She brought half a cart-load of plate, which they are coining among themselves. He has a groat of the same coin, which the constable has to show, "and yt ys a feyne king Harry grote." The saying is among them that the lady Dowager is alive and not buried. At the Duke of Norfolk's last coming, many of his men went over to the other side, and then my lord was not content with them, "and then one of his men did start to him with a dagger and said if he would not return to them he should die for it". They have proclaimed to have a parliament among them.

The nearer the rebellion spread to the Scottish borders, the more King Henry became alarmed. The Scottish king had become connected by marriage with the French king, and was daily expected to arrive with his bride by sea, so that Henry might well think that his throne would be in danger if King James made common cause with the English rebels.

Hence the vigilance of the officers of the West Marches displayed in the following articles.

JOHN LOWTHER AND JAK MUSGRAVE TO [EARL OF] CUMBERLAND.

Jak Musgraf's espial and Lowther's man agree that the council expect daily the [Scotch] King's arrival, that all the ships of the West coast have gone out to meet him, and that on his coming home they will have war. All the commons of Scotland are ordered to have "new jak, new spere, and knapskawde." Carlisle, 24 April.

JOHN

JOHN LOWTHER TO [EARL OF] (CUMBERLAND.)

Has received his lordship's letter this St. Mark's eve, expressing the King's pleasure for the fortification of Carlisle. If victual be sent there is no mill in the castle to grind it, and if your lordship had good ordnance there is none to shoot them. Therefore make provision in time "for either war of Scotland now when the King's purse is full of the French gold, or never," and the common voice of Scotland is war. Sent his man to Edinburgh to await the Scotch king's coming, which is expected on May Day at farthest. Despatched him the sooner as the wind is in his favour. Norfolk should be advertised of the defenceless state of Carlisle. Carlisle Castle, St. Mark's Day.

PACIFICATION OF THE BORDERS.

The rebellion having been finally extinguished, leading landowners and men of military proclivities were appointed as officers to assist the Lord Warden of the West Marches in maintaining the peace of the Borders, with fees or annuities allotted to them.

Various preliminary lists had been drawn up. One such list is thus criticised by the Duke of Norfolk.

[1537, 12 July. Cal. No. 248.]

In delivering the King's letters, missives, and those for annuities, retained six, by the advice of Sir Thos. Warton, for these reasons: 1 There is no such man as Thos. Redmayne. 2 Wm. and John Hutton are but freeholders and can do little service. 3 Wm. Lancaster cannot spend 40s. a year and can do nothing. 4 Richard Blanko* a man of small havour either of lands or goods and one the most busy [rebellious] men in these parts, better deserved a halter than his Highness' fee. There are omitted Sir Thomas Curwen the man of all others that can best serve in Cumberland. Walter Strickland who can serve with more men than any three in the book, a very toward young man and great friend of Whartons; Thomas Faloghfield belonging to my lord of Cumberland, John Skelton of Branthwaite and Chr. Wharton, brother to Sir Thomas. Writes at Sir Thomas' desire that these may have fees with the rest. . . . . .

The Duke then proceeds to give Penrith a bad record. He says :—

Hearing that the 'sizes of Cumberland are to be at Penrith and not at Carlisle. begs they may be changed. Penrith was the worst town in all the country at the last rebellion and Norfolk caused nine persons to be hanged there whereas Cromwell knows how Carlisle served; it were better Mr. Spilman and Jenney † should ride 10 miles about that one true town be discouraged and a false one cherished.

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* Blencoe.
† The Judges on circuit.

The

The following is the final list of Officers for the West Marches:—

[Cal. No. 250.]

Sir Wm. Musgrave, Sir John Lowther, Thomas Sandford, Esqr., Sir John Lamplough, Sir James Layburn, Sir Jeffray Myddelton, Sir Robt. Bellingham, Edward Aglionbye, Esqr., Ric. Dokett, gent, Sir Thomas Curwen, John Musgrave and Walter Strykland each £10, Thomas Daker, gent, Chr. Crakenthorpe, 4 names lost by mutilation [apparently those of John Warcopp, Lancelot Lancaster, Gilbert Wharton and Hugh Machel, which appear in No. 249] John Lighe, John Skelton [of Branthwaite] Thomas Dykes, John Thwaytes, Cuthbert Hutton, Thomas Blanderhasset, Chr. Thyrkell, Mungo Musgrave, Ric. Englefield, Alex. Appulbye, Rob. Boyst, John Preston, gent, and Thomas Clyfford the bastard each 6l. 13s. 4d. Chr. Wharton, Thomas Dalston, John Skelton of Armathwaite each 6l. 13s. 4d. Sir Geo. Lawson 20l.

ART. XIX.—*Hawkshead Folk-lore.—Charms, Superstition, Witchcraft, and Traditional Customs.* BY H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

Communicated at Coniston, Sept. 16th, 1896.

IT may possibly be somewhat out of place to bring before the notice of a practical body such as the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, subjects so eminently unpractical and fanciful as those mentioned in the title of this paper. But there is not, within the district worked by this Society, anything in the shape of Folk-lore Society, and I venture to think that some of the curious customs and superstitions, which will be hereafter mentioned, are, indeed, worthy of some sort of notice at our hands, for all of them, even those foolish ghost stories of more modern date, embody rather the traditional survivals of a past age, than the feelings of the present day.

First, I would call your attention to the subject of charms,—fanciful and superstitious remedies for various ailments: and in doing so I would beg you all to remember that although the old life of our dalesmen and statesmen was sufficiently remote from civilisation, and might well be expected to lead to an appreciation of all that is uncanny and inexplicable, yet the people were not, as a matter of fact, superstitious,—that is to say as compared with the people of some other parts of the kingdom. Superstition, indeed, is rather racial, and it is more among the Celtic counties than among the Saxon or Scandinavian, that the Folk-lorist and ghost-hunter may expect a good harvest.

But to return to charms. A year or two ago our member, Mr. S. Marshall, was good enough to send me some papers which he had found among the title deeds of the Skelwith

Skelwith Fold estate, near Ambleside. Amongst them were two curious charms for bleeding and burns, which had turned up among the papers of the Bullclose farm,* of the years 1736-51. They run as follows:—

† To stop Bleeding in Man or Beast at any Distance, first you must have some Drops of ye Blood upon a Linen Ragg and wrap a Little Roman Vitrioll upon this Ragg put it under your oxter (armpit) and say these words thrice into yrself There was a Man Born in Bethlem of Judea Whose name was Called Christ. Baptized in the River Jordan In the Watter of the flood and the Child also was meak and good and as the watter stood So I desire thee the Blood of Such a person or Beast to stand in their Bodie in the name of the father son and Holy Ghost Amen. Then Look into the Ragg and at that moment the Blood stopeth the Blew powder is Turned into Blood by sympathy.

The other is as follows:—

To cure Burns or Scalds by Blowing thrice and Saying these words after each Blowing Coutha Cold under the Clay Trembleing is there any here that would Learn of the Dead to Cure the sores of Burning in the Name of God And in the name of God be it Amen. First say then Blow then say then Blow then say then Blow and it is done.

At the head of Esthwaite Lake, near where the road crosses the beck, between the town and Colthouse, once stood a gibbet (mentioned in the parish registers in 1672),

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* Bullclose and Skelwith Fold both formerly belonged to the Bensons.

† Compare with these the following from the Liber Loci Benedict de Whalley, 1296-1316, cited in *Lancashire Folk-lore*, by Jno. Harland, F.S.A., and T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S., 1882, p. 77.

"For staunching bleeding from the nostrils, or from the wounds, an approved remedy—O God, be thou merciful to this Thy servant N., nor allow to flow from his body more than one drop of blood. So may it please the Son of God. So his mother Mary. In the name of the Father, stop O Blood! In the name of the Son stop, O Blood! In the name of the Holy Ghost, stop O Blood! In the name of the Holy Trinity."

"To staunch Bleeding: A Soldier of old thrust a lance into the side of the Saviour; immediately there flowed thence blood and water—the blood of Redemption, and the water of Baptism. In the name of th Father X may the blood cease. In the name of the Son X may the blood remain. In the the name of the Holy Ghost X may no more blood flow from the mouth, vein, or nose."

of

of which old inhabitants can still remember the stump standing. Within the memory of man there was a common belief that a fragment torn from the rotting fragment of this gallows, and placed in an aching tooth, formed a sure cure.

The old idea that the seventh son has a miraculous power of healing is well-known, and it has been conjectured that it owes its origin to the story of the seven sons of Sceva the Jew (Acts. xix, 13).* Of this superstition I have come across but one example. Mr. Tyson, of Hawkshead, who keeps the local branch of the Bank of Liverpool, was one of the old stock of Tysons of Little Langdale. He was one of a large family, and one of his brothers being a seventh son, was sought out by a woman working in the Coniston copper-mines, in order to be cured of some ailment on the arm, perhaps scrofula.† Mr. Tyson's brother held no faith in such healing, but the woman persisted, and came once every week for seven weeks, early in the morning, to Dale End farm, when the operator had to tie some sort of a charm or spell round her neck. The cure was effected, although the operator had no belief in it. The local value of this story, however, is somewhat lost, as it is believed that the patient was a Cornish or Devonshire woman, and brought the superstition with her.

A somewhat similar superstition comes from the hamlet of Outgate, where, within the memory of man, there resided a woman (one of a somewhat uncanny family, of whom more anon), who possessed the power of curing jaundice by a spell. In this case there may have really

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* See Dr. Barnes' paper "On touching for King's evil," in Vol. xiii. of our *Transactions*, p. 362.

† In 1786 there is the following entry in Hawkshead Parish Account Book:—"Journey horse hire and expenses to Backbarrow to Eliner Preston to take her child to Mr. Kellets of Long Sleddale to be cured of a scabbed head 2/6." This may have been a charm, as there was then a doctor at Hawkshead.

been

been some power of diagnosis, for the patient had simply to take some urine to the operator, and no medicine was given.

DIVINATION (*Bibliomancy*).

Somewhat akin to these spells was Divination by Bible and key, of which I have heard of two instances within the parish. Unfortunately, old people who remember the existance of such practices have, as a rule, forgotten the details, but we must content ourselves with the evidence of the existance of them within the memory of man, which is, after all, the main point. The first case is that of John M——, of Outgate, father to Thos. M——, of Field-held, who recently died at an advanced age.

My informant believes that John M. (who gave up the use of the bible and key with advanced years), used it to ascertain if anyone was acting maliciously towards him. What exactly was done at the time, except that some words were spoken, cannot now be ascertained, but it was evidently a form of divination. Another instance was given me by Miss U——, of Monk Coniston, now about 75 years of age, who remembers, as a girl, seeing it practised by a servant at Hollow Oak, in Colton, to ascertain if some individual who had thrown a stone through her window was a certain groom whom she suspected. This took place some sixty years ago. *

* Divination by Bible and key. I extract the following from "*Lancashire Folk-lore*," where it is quoted from "Notes and Queries," vol. ii., p. 5. "When some choice specimen of the "Lancashire Witches" thinks it necessary to decide upon selecting a suitor from among the number of her admirers she not unfrequently calls in the aid of the Bible and a key to assist in deciding her choice. Having opened the Bible at the passage in Ruth "Whither thou goest will I go, &c." and having carefully placed the wards of the key upon the verses, she ties the book firmly with a piece of cord, and having mentioned the name of an admirer, she very solemnly repeats the passage in question, at the same time holding the bible suspended, by joining the ends of the little fingers inserted under the handle of the key. If the key retain its position during the repetition, the person whose name has been mentioned is considered to be rejected: and so another name is tried till the book turns round and falls through the fingers, which is held to be a sure token the name just mentioned is that of an individual who will certainly marry her."

SUPERSTITIOUS

SUPERSTITIOUS CUSTOMS.

Amongst the strange customs practised in out-of-the-way parts of the north, in former times, was that of firing over the house of a newly wedded couple, on the night after the marrriage. This practice was observed till quite recent times in Hawkshead parish, and was certainly done some ten or eleven years ago, and is probably not extinct. I have been told that it was supposed to secure a plentiful issue of the marriage. On these occasions the firing party expected a present which was termed " hen silver ".

There are, of course, innumerable other customs connected with marriages and births, but here it is only my intention to notice such survivals as I have heard of in the Hawkshead district. Thus I find it is still the custom for old ladies, when visiting a woman after child-birth, to carry with them a pound of sweet butter.

This brings to memory another butter custom, the practice of placing a twig of rowan in the cream to make the butter come. Rowan had powerful anti-witchcraft effects, and when butter would not come it was considered due to magic. I have heard a story of milk bewitched by a woman at Nibthwaite Grange, so that for days and days no butter could be churned.* Mr. W. G. Collingwood, in his recent paper on " Manx Names in Cumbria," mentions, as a possible survival of tree-worship, the dressing of trees with rags and crockery at Satterthwaite and Hawkshead hill. Well-worship was a common custom in Scotland, and with tree-worship can be traced in many parts of the world, the pilgrimage to wells being really one for health which was to come from the powers, whether supernatural or natural, of the water. But they are

* Mr. Ellwood (Landnama Book of Iceland, vol. xii., *Cum. and West. Arch. and Ant. Soc.*, p. 302) has shown us that the rowan was holy in Iceland, being dedicated to Thor, and connected with many superstitions. Thor was saved from drowning by a rowan tree.

extremely

extremely difficult matters to get the people of the country to speak of. If they have any faith, they fear to own to what they feel we should regard as superstition. This reticence, caused often by a dread of ridicule, makes it very difficult to gain information on what appear to be last surviving relics of pre-Christian rites in England.

Mr. Ellwood, in his paper on the Landnama Book,* has called our attention to the singular and interesting custom of keeping alight for generations the same household fire. Mr. Ellwood alludes to a "well-known instance in our own neighbourhood," by which I imagine, although he does not actually say so, he means the case of the lonely moorland farmsteads of Parkamoore and Lawson park on the fells to the east of Coniston. Of this subject Mr. A. Craig-Gibson, writing in 1864, says :—

> Previous to the invention of lucifer matches, and probably for long after, the fire on the stone "hearths of these two 'Granges'" had not been extinguished, it was said, for many centuries, probably not even yet. Their fuel being peat, was easily kept smouldering throughout the longest night, while their distance from neighbours, and the consequent difficulty of providing means of re-lighting their fires, if extinguished, made their many generations of inmates careful to preserve them alight.

That in this remarkable custom there was more than the actual difficulty of making fire, cannot be doubted. There are plenty of savage races who have not matches, yet find the difficulty of obtaining fire by flint or friction, not such as to necessitate their keeping a never-dying fire. The origin and tradition, long lost now in the dim past, must have sprung, we can hardly doubt, from that strange yet perfectly explicable reverence so common in certain stages of civilisation, and so marked in the East, that the

* The Landnama Book of Iceland, as it illustrates the Dialect, Folk-lore, and Antiquities of Cumberland, Westmorland, and North Lancashire. *Transactions Cum. and West. Arch. and Ant. Soc.*, xii, p. 289-90.

flame

flame typified and symbolised the fertilising power of the sun, and of all things; in truth, the fountain head of all forms of nature worship.

I would mention one other curious custom in the parish, hardly, however, superstitious, though as it is unpublished and may be of remote antiquity, I venture to allude to here. As late as a generation since, there was held in the little hamlet of Outgate, a most curious law court, which in the belief of those who can yet recall it, was rather a frolic, than a traditional custom, handed down from old times. To this, however, I cannot help feeling a certain amount of doubt, and I place the subject before this Society in the hope that similar cases may be chronicled.

It appears that at Outgate certain of the residents were elected to certain dignities as follows :—

The Bishop	John Martin *
Lord Short of Birkwray	William Warriner, Birkwray
Justice	John Rigg †
Parson	Rowley Scales

This quorum sat upon and really adjudicated minor offences, imposing (as far as I can ascertain), small fines on cases of drunkenness, &c. The court did not, it appears, assemble on any special day of the year, and may really have acted as a slight check on the behaviour of the wilder spirits, in those days when petty sessions were held no nearer than Ulverston or Lakeside. It is worth notice that in the parish register, under burials, we find the following entry which may refer to the same custom two hundred and sixty years ago.

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* His son Thomas Martin, commonly called "Tommy," died recently, and by his death the parish lost one whose honest nature made him beloved by all who knew him. Thomas Martin was a fine specimen of the old type of Furness cottager, and in his earlier years was a man of great personal strength.

† Father of the present Mr. James Rigg, of Lockhow.

ffebruary xxvijth Jo: Rigg lord.

Whether this Outgate mock court has any connection with the curious customs prevalent once in various parts of England, of choosing a mock mayor and holding a procession, and between which and the old village moot assemblies and certain customs practised by the non-Aryan castes in Indian villages, Mr. G. L. Gomme has suggested parallels in his work on "The Village Community," is worthy of consideration. We may hope that similar cases may be noticed in other parts of this district, which should form evidence to prove or disprove the question.

WITCHCRAFT.

There was nobbut twa witches iver com't inta England
T'ya was bacca, and t'udder was teea,
Yan was borned, and t'udder was scorched to deeath.

Cumberland saying.

Although witchcraft was generally believed in all over England in the middle ages, relics of this superstition are, fortunately, not common now-a-days, and in the Hawkshead district there are few among the county people who can recall anything concerning the subject. An instance has already been referred to, of a woman bewitching the milk, which is, however, nearer akin to the "evil eye" than to real witchcraft. A queerer story, however, came to me from an old man now close on eighty, who distinctly remembers his mother talk of what appears to be a true witchcraft case. It appears that formerly, but how long since I could not ascertain, there lived at Outgate, a family of the name of W——, whose proceedings were generally so uncanny that there was much talk about them. One of them, a woman, was specially notorious, and possessed the faculty of changing her shape and appearing as an animal. The hounds while working the valley

valley would find a hare, and after an exciting chase after puss, she generally disappeared mysteriously near Outgate, leaving the hounds at fault. One day the hounds ran the hare right into the hamlet, and making straight for one of the houses, it jumped straight for an open window. At that moment, however, it was seized by the hind leg by the foremost hound, and at the same time came a wild screaming chorus from inside the house—

Switch Grandy switch
Here comes t'black bitch.

But it was too late, and as the excited huntsman ran to the spot, he found instead of the hare, the notorious witch of Outgate.

The only other witch story I am aware of, connected with this district, is that told in Mr. Graig-Gibson's interesting little book, "The Old Man."* Unfortunately, Mr. Gibson gives us no notes as to where he obtained the story, but I believe that old folks certainly have a tradition about a stone in Yewdale beck now, but whether they got it from Mr. Gibson's book, or he from them, is perhaps rather uncertain.

As Mr. Gibson's book is not easy to obtain, I quotc him in full:—

In these pious and enlightened times, when the profession and practice of witchcraft were so common that very few women could grow old and ugly, especially if they were also poor, without being suspected of having sold their immortal part to the Father of evil, a very old woman whose name has not been preserved, but the certainty of whose commerce with the devil no one ever doubted, dwelt in a hut upon the point of land which runs into the lake near the mouth of this brook. After practising the ordinary routine of a witch-woman's life for several years, it is said that, as the time drew near for the fulfilment of her short-sighted bargain, she was seized

* *The Old Man*, or Ravings and Ramblings round Coniston. London, 1849, p. 74.

with

with terror and remorse, and resolved to try whether she might not find a means of nullifying the agreement and evading payment of the fearful penalty to be exacted from her in return for the evil power with which her master had endued her old age; and, with this object, she visited a holy man, one of the monks of Saint Mary of Furness, who was stationed at the place now called Bank Ground, which stands pleasantly upon the opposite side of the lake. He, when made aware of all the hearings of the case, offered some hope of redemption from the consequences of her contract, on the conditions of teetotal abstinence from any future indulgence in the evil art, abnegation of the devil, his works and devices, and a course of penance so severe and protracted, as to make the penitent witch think the cure almost as bad as the disease, but concern for "her pore sole," as Wilfrid Jenkins pathetically designates it, determined her to accept of Father Brian's terms, provided he could secure her against the power of Satan in the interim. Being instructed to flee for her life, and to call loudly upon Father Brian and Saint Herbert for aid, should Beelzebub come, as was likely, to claim his own before the completion of her saving penance had rescued her from his dreaded clutches, she returned home, and turned over a new leaf, beginning to lead a tolerably exemplary life. As might be expected, the other contracting party was not long in hearing of this unpardonable breach of faith, and one evening he startled his quondam disciple by making his appearance at the door of her domicile, when she, remembering the monk's instructions, darted through the open window, and sped, with the speed of light, directly up the course of this beck (Yewdale Beck), screaming loudly for succour, as directed. She had reached the site of the bridge, and her pursuer was just about to lay his claws upon her, when the saint or the monk, or both heard her, and the devil's foot . . . . . was set upon that stone, the heel sank into the ridge upon its surface, and the stone hardening, he was held fast by the heel, and thus, by the miraculous intervention of the dead saint or the living monk, the penitent witch escaped.

The scene of this story is a wooden bridge called Bannockstone bridge over Yewdale Beck, and a short distance south of the main road, where it crosses the beck. Bannockstone Bridge was formerly a stone erection, and Mr. Gibson instructs the visitor to examine beneath it a large stone bearing so remarkable an imprint of a heel, that it was the sight of it which caused him to inquire for a legend with the above result. I must confess that

that my search for a stone here, in any way remarkable, has been quite fruitless.

Fairies and Hobthrushes.

In Furness we are not in Fairyland, and enquiries as to traditions of the little people call forth the scantiest and vaguest information. Thus I learned from one old inhabitant that in his young days he heard strange stories of the doings of these folks in the fairs and market at Ambleside, and elsewhere. In the guise of ordinary folks they would mix with the crowds, and then, by blowing at the market women at the stalls, they became invisible, after which, taking a mean advantage of their position, they proceeded to steal things off the stalls. My informant remembered also that a certain place called "Frankhouse Steads" had a bad reputation this way. From his description this place (which seems to be unknown now and is not marked on any map), was somewhere in the vicinity of Tarnhaws. Strangely enough, this tradition was mixed up in my informant's head with the story of the robber, called Castlehow, who lived on Hawkshead Moor, and the date of the apprehension of whom is proved by the Parish Account Book, to have been as late as 1785.

In Langdale, however, we hear of a harmless sort of spirit, which seems akin to the "brownie" or hobthush.* The places which were reputed to be visited by this harmless being were the "Busk" and the "Forge," and the principal occupation of the visitor seems to have been the churning of the farmer's cream by night, when the family had retired to rest. A wasteful goblin he seems to

* The hobthrush (*Dickinson's Glossary*, English Dialect Society) was also sometimes called the "throbthrush" (see the *Lonsdale Magazine*, vol. iii, p. 254). He was, as a rule, a good devil, often helping the farmer in his work, but as often as not performing some mischievous prank, which did more harm than the good he had done. Churning for the farmer seems to have been a favourite pastime. This gentle goblin seems now extinct, or I should have procured one to exhibit to the Society. *Requiescat in pace.*

have

have been in this case, for near the latter place the people used to find bits of butter scattered about in the woods, apparently dropped by the uncanny visitor in his flight.

Dobbies and Flayans.

Formerly, I am told by one of the oldest inhabitants of the parish, that Dobbies and Flayans were "aw up and down," and children hardly dare put their noses out of the doors at night. Be this as it may, the stories one can get concerning them are neither very fearful nor very numerous. There are, however, certain localities which have long had a bad reputation, which, indeed, clings to most of them, and in some of these, there are not a few living people who can say something on the subject. My own belief is that in most cases we have in these haunts, very early forms of northern superstition, which generally get localised on certain sites, on the occurrence of tragedies such as suicides or murders.

It is very curious that the road which runs on the margin of Esthwaite, on every side, is badly haunted in several places. The most widely known and least explicable, however, is certainly the Waterside Boggle, which has frightened many an honest man on the road between Lake Field, the residence of the late Mrs. Ogden, and the cottage at Waterside, which was at one time the Claife poorhouse. The peculiarity of the uncanny place is the various forms the appearance has taken. It has been seen as a man in light blue, as an animal, neither calf nor donkey, as a white fox or foxes. In most cases the apparition is sighted by a night pedestrian, and when approached, suddenly and silently disappears.

It is worth while noting that it is not only to the uneducated, commonly supposed to be the more superstitious, that the Beckside Boggle has appeared. One of the vicars of the parish used to tell his friends how, walking one night from Sawrey, he was approaching the poorhouse

poorhouse, when he observed an old lady in an old fashioned bonnet walking before him. It was early in spring, and there had been a snow shower so that the road was all white. The vicar trudged along till he was abreast of the figure, and then, thinking she was probably a parishioner, he bade her "good-night" as he passed. As there was no reply he turned to see who this unsociable old body was. To his horror, under the wide brimmed bonnet, he saw a death-like countenance with goggle eyes, which gleamed like coloured glass with a light behind them. The apparition then suddenly disappeared through a gap in the wall. The vicar, astounded, went up to the wall, but no trace of the figure could be seen. He then looked back along the road which he had come. The moon was bright, and he noticed a strange thing. The snow bore only the tracks of one pair of feet, and those were his own.

There is, however, one form in which the "boggle" appears, which is rather significant, and as far as can be made out by enquiry, it is the form in which it has oftenest appeared. Pedestrians, at night, on coming to this part of the road, would see a white calf in the road, and this would suddenly disappear, followed instantly by a sound as if a cartload of stones was being emptied into the lake, or sometimes into the road. Trivial as this may sound, it is interesting. It appears we have here a tradition of the Teutonic "Barguest," or "Barnghaist." A form of this went under the name of "Trash," and consisted of a big dog which walked with an awful splashing sound. Sometimes Trash "sinks at the feet of the persons to whom he appears with a loud splashing noise, as if a heavy stone were thrown into the miry road." *

In making enquiries about this notorious haunt, I was informed that an old woman was still living who had

* Harland and Wilkinson, *Lancashire Folk-lore.*

spoken

spoken with the ghost itself. Of course I interviewed her at once. The old lady is now very advanced in years, and though somewhat of a cripple, owing to an accident in Coniston copper mines, where she worked years ago, yet, intellectually, perfectly vigorous. The story she told me as she sat in her cottage, over the fire, was a strange one.

It appears that some thirty or so years ago, she went to live with her mother at the poorhouse. Her mother being seriously ill and my informant having to nurse her. The first uncanny thing that happened was that the house suddenly appeared to be on fire, and old N. ran out shiftless, in her fright, screaming that the house was burning. She was got into the building, and it was some time before she could be persuaded that what appeared to her as fire, was but fodder for animals.

But I ken aw about it—ower mich. There was a man ca'd Roger D——. as should have gone to foreign parts to join his brother or summat. But ya year i' summer he hed been warking amang t'hay, and to ga yam, he took a boat frae below t'How across t'laake. There was a chap ca'd S——, a wicked chap as hed had a terrble quarrel wi' Roger, and they say he was ligging quiet and set on Roger as he was landing near t'poor'us. There mud hev been terrible wark afore aw was over. S——. was found lying nigh de'ad i't' rooad, and nivver spak again. Jim H——. fund him, and carried him home. As for Roger they fund his body stark and stiff in t'water, and there was nea doubt that S——. had drowned him.

But warst of aw, ya day efter this, Roger came intil t'poor'us, when I was with mother. I hed nivver seen him alive, but mother hed, and knew him well. It was late ya evening. Roger walked straight into the house, dressed in his best Sunday clothes, and held out his hand to me, and said summat I dud'nt ken. I kna'd nowt of who he was, and took his hand. It was ca'd as ice. I kenned somehow as I'd done wrang. He went til t'mantel and struck a light with some matches. But efter we fund as nivver yan hed been touched. As he left t'room mother said "Bairn, whatevver hev ye done, its Roger D——." I was almaist deead wi' terror. But he'll nivver come again willn't Roger sin he's been spokken wi' and touched.

I came away from the house fully believing that I had run the Waterside Boggle to earth, but not so. On making enquiries of one or two elderly men, with clear memories, and no particular taste for the uncanny, I found that the death of D——. occurred somewhere between thirty and thirty-seven years ago. That it was absolutely certain that he was not murdered, but accidentally drowned, and that the place in question was badly haunted prior to his death. Indeed there was a suicide here a long while prior to the drowning case, and even before that the place had a bad reputation. The story, however, is useful and instructive, as showing how the people are apt to fix upon a tragedy to account for a superstition which in itself may be of remote antiquity. One of the most practical farmers in the locality, and a man eminently unsuperstitious, informed me that the most remarkable thing about the place was the fact that cattle often became panic-struck with terror near the poorhouse, and could be hardly got to pass it. He himself had experienced this more than once, and in a marked degree. There are also numerous stories about carriage-horses shying badly at the same place.

On the opposite side of the lake, we have another instance of the fixing of an old form of superstition upon the site of a tragedy. An old woman, called Nelly N——, is said to have been murdered at or near the Howe farm, and although suspicion fell on more than one, it would appear that nobody was brought to book. The story goes that the woman owned a bag of spade guineas, which she used to take to market and there count, with the result that somebody's cupidity being aroused, the old lady was murdered for them. Anyhow, it is said that after her death the guineas were never found. The story goes that as carts go along the road at night, Nelly suddenly jumps upon them. This is, apparently, a relic of the Scandinavian Skrat, whose kinsman the German Schrat

Schrat or Schritel used to jump into carts, which immediately became so heavy that they could not be drawn by the horse.

The only ghost, at the foot of the lake, appears to be a lady without a head.

At the northern end of the lake we find a haunted locality at the residence called Belmount, built about one hundred ago, by the Rev. Reginald Braithwaite, Incumbent of Hawkshead. In this case the "walk" is not only at the house, but upon the avenue leading to the house, along the main road to the end of Scarhouse lane, leading from Colthouse, and even in the lane itself. There appears to be no tradition as to the origin of the ghost, which, like the Beckside Boggle, manifests itself in a variety of ways. Servants living in the house have heard fearful and indescribable sounds at night, and in the morning have found all the doors wide open. Sometimes at night, travellers have seen all the windows brilliantly lit up, when the house was known to be empty. One of my informants has seen the gate securely locked to fly wide open as she passed, without any visible agency, and I have been informed on credible authority, that a highly respected native of the district, now a "boots" in a neighbouring town, was well nigh frightened out of his wits when young, by an appearance here.

The Belmount Dobbie occasionally manifests itself in human form, when it appears as a tall figure, generally described as that of a woman and robed in white. Thus it has been seen by ramblers whose curiosity has prompted them to peer through the windows from outside, and also peramulating the adjacent roads.

The same old resident, in whose youthful days dobbies were "aw up and down," remembered a queer haunt at Smartfield, above Coniston. The place seems to have had a bad reputation, but the queerest things went on at

a

a certain "hogus"* above the farm, which is, I think, close to the British cemetery and settlement on Banishead moor. Here inanimate objects became animate, and one day a workman there, was almost scared to death, and driven back to the farm by the insane antics of a besom, which, leaning against the corner of the building when he arrived, suddenly dashed into the middle of the floor and executed a wild *pas de seul* round the scared rustic.

Some sixty or seventy years ago, a woman drowned herself in Rusland pool, in Colton, and afterwards she appeared often at the farmstead called Eling harth, or on the Kendal and Ulverston road, where she was in the habit of walking for a long while alongside the carrier's cart.

There are one or two haunts in or connected with the parish, which, unlike the above, have already had their chronicler, and therefore do not require telling here. Of these the place of honour must be given to the mysterious "Crier of Claife," mentioned in many guide books, and of which there is a good account in Tweddell's *Furness Past and Present.*† The introduction of steamboats, electric launches, and the building of the excellent Ferry Hotel, have, I think, scared this fleyin off Windermere.

Another is the Oxenfell Dobby, the story of which is cleverly described in dialect, in Mr. Craig-Gibson's *Folk-speech in Cumberland.* The story, as there told, is that a lover murdered a rival who had seen the object of their mutual affection to her home at Tilberthwaite, after a country dance. The scene of the tragedy was supposed to be on the wild lonely road between Hodge Close and Oxenfell Cross, and travellers would at night be startled by the sound of a fearful struggle in the darkness. I

* A hoghouse is a building on the fell for sheep to shelter in.
† Vol. I, p. 95.

find

find that the place still has the reputation among old folks of being haunted, although few people remember a story. The apparition, however, seems, as usual, to take other forms, for I have been told that sometimes a phantom coach-and-four was met on the main road near Oxenfell Cross. This is the more curious since it is but with comparatively recent times that the road has been changed from a rough hill road into a coachable road.

But ghosts are not yet extinct in the parish. There is now on the edge of one of the three lakes which have their shores within our parish, a handsome modern residence where a "lady in white" walks regularly, and is often seen by the inmates. This fair shade (for fair all who have seen her pronounce she is) appears anywhere in the house, and I believe at any hour. She causes no annoyance, is well behaved, and as far as is known, has no history. There is, however, a curious thing connected with a lonely farm on the fell at no great distance, which is worth chronicling, although there is nothing whatever to connect it with the ghost. The farmer was repairing or altering the wall of a small out-building in a ruined farm, which is close to his own. In doing this, a skull and several pieces of bone were found bedded in mortar, in a hole carefully prepared for them within the thickness of the wall. A doctor has seen the skull, and it is believed to be that of a woman. The other pieces of bone which were small, had been sawed in two. What seemed to bring the date of this tragedy down to recent times, was that the building had been re-roofed in modern times, and if the skull was there at the time it must have been found by the workmen. This, however, does not perhaps prove very much as it is quite conceivable that an ignorant workman, on making such a discovery, would pop the skull back into its hiding place, and hastily finish his job, thinking he had better not meddle with such a thing. But none of this part of the building seems very old, and probably

probably the tragedy, though there is no record of it, is of quite modern date. Curiously, the farm has been untenanted for many years, and is now becoming quite ruinous. There is no reason to believe it is more than a coincidence, but it is curious that the "woman in white" is dressed in a costume which accords with the probable date of the tragedy.

ART. XX.—*Notes on the Excavations on the line of the Roman Wall in Cumberland, in* 1894 *and* 1895. By MRS. HODGSON, Newby Grange.

Communicated at Waterhead, Coniston, Sept. 16*th*, 1896.

DURING the excavations carried on in 1894 and 1895 along the Wall and the adjoining earthworks in Cumberland, I accompanied my husband to every trench which he was surveying and measuring, in order that I might myself take notes concerning the colours of and the lines followed by the different earths before making my drawings from his measurements. Very careful observation was necessary, and I have thought it well to put down some notes of what I saw. I have no knowledge, except by mere hearsay, of the historical evidence which has been collected, and only wish to record the facts I have myself observed, and to give expression to the conclusions which I thought might logically be drawn from them. I began with no theory at all, and am not concerned to attack or defend any. I think the notes will be best arranged by dividing the subject into five parts:—1, The Vallum; 2, The Turf Wall; 3, The Stone Wall; 4, The Road; and 5, a *Note* on the Quarry at Bleatarn.

I. THE VALLUM. i. BRUNSTOCK. 1894.

Taking the sections which have been made in Cumberland across this great earthwork in order from west to east, we begin with those cut in July, 1894, in Brunstock Park.* In a long trench cut right across the works from north to south the surface began to rise for north mound of the Vallum 226 feet south of the foundation of the Wall. Here, 2 feet 6 inches below the surface, was the bottom of a small semi-circular ditch, 18 inches wide, lined with blue clays, in a red subsoil. It was thought by some to be the Boundary Ditch

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., Plates I and II.

occasionally

occasionally found on the German *Limes*, but this remains uncertain. A few insignificant objects were found in it. It has not been seen elsewhere during the excavations, unless possibly in the White Moss Field (see p. 393.) The soil here was a stiff clay, and perhaps gave in consequence a clearer idea of the method of construction than any other section. At the time we were rather puzzled by the varying colours of this clay—red, reddish yellow, and whitish or bluish grey—but after comparison with the sandy loams, &c., in other sections, and after learning from Professor T. McK. Hughes, F.S.A., that decomposing vegetable matter seems to absorb or destroy the colouring of adjacent earth, I have come to the conclusion that the clay was all the same in itself, and that its discoloration was due to the above cause. The subsoil generally appeared red, but yellower at the south end of the section. On this lay a line of dark bluish grey clay with the whitish grey immediately beneath it. The microscope showed all to be very much the same, but there were tiny fragments of black amongst the clay from the dark line, leaving no doubt in my mind that this was carbonized matter representing the original surface of turf. This line extended for about 30 feet under the north mound of the Vallum, and from 4 feet to 12 feet 6 inches south of the beginning of it the section showed a ridge, 16 inches high at its summit, of the light bluish grey clay lying on the dark line. It had red clay on both sides of it, and a small wedge of this was under its base at the northern edge. Further south the dark line was surmounted by a mass of clay, red, yellow, and bluish grey mixed. From this end of the dark line for about 30 feet there was a break in the red clay subsoil, the lines sloping rapidly as for the sides of a ditch, the hollow being filled by light bluish grey clay, apparently washings of the ditch, covered by about 2 feet of yellow clay, which seemed as if it might have slid from the mounds into the ditch. Measurements indicated a ditch 30 feet wide at the top and 15 feet wide at the bottom, which would be about 5 feet below the original surface line. The axis was 306 feet south of the foundations of the Wall: 22 feet south of the axis the dark line reappeared as before, and extended, with the grey line under it, for 49 feet. This time there were two grey ridges lying on it, the smaller 4 feet 3 inches wide and 12 inches high, the larger, further south, 6 feet 6 inches wide and 17 inches high. Small wedges of red clay showed again under the base of this ridge. The space between the ridges and on both sides of them was filled by red clay, flanked again by mixed red and yellow clays. The surface falls to its natural level a few feet south of where the dark line ends, and here the trench ceased. Several other trenches were cut in the park, for the most part confirming the results of the principal trench.

I. THE

I. The Vallum. ii. White Moss. 1894.

The next cuttings made were on White Moss,* a common near Wall Head in the parish of Crosby-on-Eden. The Wall is under the modern road, and 247 feet south of this the ground begins to rise for the northernmost ridge of the Vallum, which here seems to consist of four mounds. The outer mounds are low and show little distinctive feature, if indeed they belong to the Vallum at all, and are not merely the result of peat digging. The outer northern mound has the black line definite; indeed it is double, with a little white sand between. But in the outer southern mound there is no line at all, and the surface peat lies on the reddish-yellow sandy subsoil. About 3 feet below the surface are the remains of a tree, apparently very ancient, with roots or branches, imbedded in the sand. The depressions between these flanking mounds and the principal mounds are almost exactly on the normal ground level, and have no colour or line between the surface peat and the yellow sand of the subsoil. The middle depression, on the other hand, though filled up on the surface to a much higher level, shows by the sharp fall, on both sides, of the line joining the dark grey and black peat with the yellow subsoil, that a deep ditch has existed here. This ditch, filled as it is with black peat, is now only about five or six feet wide, but the soil is very soft and it may have become compressed. The north side of it has crumbled down a good deal. But it can never have been of anything like the same dimensions as at Brunstock. The two principal mounds show each an underlying ridge as at Brunstock, but here they are of yellow and grey sand, and are covered with a thick layer of dark grey peaty sand, yellow sand, and old black peat, which last forms a wedge under the corners of the ridge-sections as at Brunstock. Over all is a layer of more modern surface peat.

I. The Vallum. iii. White Moss Field. 1894.

A portion of the White Moss east of the main trench has been enclosed, and through it the line of the Vallum runs, but not the Wall or the Road. The western end of the field is mere bog, but at the eastern end the ridges of the Vallum are perceptible, and a trench was cut here. But owing to the confusion between the mounnds and depressions of the Vallum and those of former ploughlands which crossed them at a small angle, very little could be gathered with any certainty. We crossed at least four small ditches

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. 39, Plate III.

filled

filled with black soil, but their shallowness and direction led most of us to think them mere plough-drains. It was, however, a curious coincidence that in the northernmost of these, corresponding in position to the possible frontier-ditch at Brunstock, a piece of agate was found by Mr. Calverley. The Vallum trends a little away from the Wall as it goes eastward.

I. THE VALLUM. iv. BLEATARN. 1894 AND 1895.

About a quarter of a mile east of the main trench (ii.) on the White Moss a gate leads across the Bishop's or Baron's Dyke* into the field known as Bleatarn Park.† At the west end of this the ground is low and marshy, with the modern road on a ridge which formed the foundation of the Roman Wall, whose site the road still occupies. The rise in the surface for the Vallum ridges begins nearly 300 feet south of this.‡ The ridges were again four in number, and this time, in Trench A on the map, it was certain that all of them had been deliberately constructed.§ The flanking ridges, which were not cut completely through, were again the smaller and lower. The northernmost showed layers of grey clayey sand and yellowish red gravel, lying on old black peat. The ridge was capped with the gravel, covered by seven or eight inches of modern surface peat. The old black peat rested on a red subsoil, probably the same red and yellow sand which so often forms the subsoil in this district. The ridge was about 14 feet wide. The southernmost ridge was very similar and quite as wide, but the line of old black peat was much thinner and not so far below the surface. It rested on grey sand at the south and on yellow clay at the north side. (This clay is in a similar position, as regards the Vallum ditch, to a wedge of undisturbed red clay seen afterwards in section D on the map, and the gravel on the top of the mounds resembles the upcast there also.) The depression between the two northern mounds appeared, as at White Moss, to be undisturbed natural surface. The depression between the two southern ridges had a line 18 inches thick of grey peaty sand between the surface peat and the yellow clay mentioned above. It left a shade of doubt in our minds whether this depression had been excavated in

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. v.
† *Ibid*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate VI. (Map.)
‡ In these *Transactions*. Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., p. 463, their distance is given wrongly as 250 feet. The error is mine, from a miscalculation from an unfinished outline by the City Surveyor. The finished outline corresponded with later measurements.
§ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., Plate V.

earlier

earlier times, but it seemed much more likely that the yellow clay was the undisturbed ancient surface, and that the grey peaty sand had slid down on to it from the mounds. The middle ditch of the Vallum was more like that of White Moss, narrow, deep, and filled with black peat as far as we could see: the inrush of water stopped us. The inner and principal northern mound had a black line more than 20 feet in width lying on the reddish yellow subsoil, and covered for some 13 feet by the section of a ridge of reddish yellow and bluish grey sand, 20 inches high at the summit, and 12 inches below the present surface. On its north flank was a streak of yellow clay, and on its south a streak of gravel, both probably upcast which had slid down the sides of the mound. On the other side of the ditch the principal southern mound rested on black peat overlying a flat level surface of red sandstone rock. beginning 7 feet south of the axis of the ditch, and traceable for 16 or 18 feet southwards. At the north side of the mound there was a mixture of grey sand and peat, 14 inches deep, lying on the rock, and over this a strongly-marked but very thin black line, such as generally represents the ancient natural surface. On the southern half of the rock there was black peat only, 8 to 12 inches deep. Mixed light and dark grey sand lay about 27 inches deep over the whole of this black line and peat, but on the southern half the curves strongly suggested a ridge-section of the usual type, while the northern half seemed to have slipped down from above this ridge. This would, perhaps, mean that the thin black line represented the surface of a berm. The works of the Vallum extended over a width of only 104 feet.

East of this trench the natural surface of the ground rises rapidly. The middle depression of the Vallum is strongly marked on the slope, but ceases to be traceable soon after the top is reached, the upper part of the field having been evidently levelled in later times. The side depressions disappear on the way up the slope, the northern one 28 or 29 feet from the western trench, the southern 100 feet or more further on. The two ridges on each side of the main ditch appear in fact to have run into one, if we may judge from the contours of the present surface, but Mr. Haverfield thinks that indications in another section (D on the map) show that the four mounds continued up the slope.* This section was cut in 1895 across the axis of the Vallum ditch and its mounds, 270 feet east of the Baron's Dyke. At the extreme south end of the trench the surface soil, a few inches deep, rested on a layer of dark red-

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate IV.

dish

dish grey sandy loam, looking at first sight like clay. Two feet north of this the layer was at a depth of one foot, the space between and the surface soil being now filled throughout most of the trench by a layer of reddish grey sand, generally containing waterworn stones and gravel. It was the opinion of Mr. Goodchild, F.G.S., that this had been put on the mounds by the hand of man, and had afterwards slid down into the ditch. Between it and the darker sandy loam were slight and fragmentary traces of black matter, some showing fibrous structure when under the microscope, which was taken to indicate the original surface line. The section of the south mound under the dark sandy loam showed a stratum of bright red and yellow sand with a wedge of red clay running into it, the whole lying on some very large blocks of red sandstone, all below the black line being undisturbed. At 12 feet south of the axis the line at the top of the bright red sand curved sharply, falling almost vertically at 4 feet 6 inches south of the axis, and resting on some more sandstone blocks six feet below the surface. The dark grey sandy loam here gave place to white sand and bluish grey sand which, as it fell lower, contained increasing traces of black peaty matter. The peat was very strong five feet below the surface till within two feet south of the axis; after which it was not traceable till two feet north of the axis, the bluish grey sand filling in the ditch. It was doubtful whether we had quite reached the bottom of the ditch, which is here on a large scale, but further excavation became dangerous. Large sandstone blocks lay at the bottom of one cutting, but they might have been thrown up on the sites of the ditch by the original workers, and have slid down when the Vallum was deserted. North of the axis the strata rose as before, but in inverse order. At 10 feet north of the axis an almost vertical face of red sandstone fragments imbedded in sand, all small and flat and of curiously regular size, lying in horizontal layers, rose two or three feet above the sandstone blocks. This layer was capped with yellow sand, and a few sandstone blocks lay on it at the bottom of the sand. They seemed to have lain on a rather narrow berm, in which case the otherwise undisturbed yellow sand must have been squeezed down upon them later. Above this the bluish grey sand which fills the ditch gave place to the dark gray sandy loam, this again being covered by the reddish gravelly sand and surface soil which have continued across the ditch. Here, 15 feet north of the axis, a thin line of black and white sandy matter ran for about four feet north, and was again taken to represent the original surface. About 31 feet north of the axis the waterworn stones in the reddish gravelly sand were very numerous. This seemed

seemed to be about the middle of the mound, and if there were two north mounds the stones would indicate the depression between them. The absence of the black line is inconclusive, as it must often have existed where it is no longer to be traced. From 41 feet north to 44 feet north of the axis it reappears, and immediately north of this the strata indicated an artificial cutting to the north, which other trenches proved to be an ancient quarry (see p. 406.)

A trench (C on the map) only 18 feet long, was cut about 22 feet west of the last, in hope of explaining a piece of rising ground which here crosses the Vallum ditch and brings it nearly to the level of the mounds. At the north edge of the south mound the vertical drop of the bright red sand to a depth of about six feet six inches was very marked, the bluish grey sand coming against it as in trench D. The surface soil and reddish gravelly sand appeared as before, with bluish grey sand below in the middle of the ditch. A dark line beginning at the north end of the trench and curving downwards as for a shallow ditch showed an earlier surface of some sort, but the date could not be determined. The trench began to fall in and was filled up, but the excavators came to the conclusion that the rise across the ditch had been caused by the north mound falling in towards the ditch after the Vallum had been deserted.

The trench (E on the map) cut in 1894 by Mr. Calverley, showed, in the part that crossed the Vallum, very similar features to trench D. It was excavated to a depth of 10 feet 6 inches below the surface at the axis of the ditch without touching rock, though blocks were found at the sides, but probably some of this was undisturbed subsoil. In this case the ditch must have followed a natural cleft in the rock here, as its bottom is four or five feet below the rock-level.

A trench (B on the map) was cut from about the axis of the northern mound of the Vallum northwards for 40 feet. At its southern end it presented the usual layer of surface soil, reddish gravelly sand, dark gray sandy loam and bright red sand, but at the highest point of the mound the reddish gravelly sand gave place to bright red sand, so exactly like that of the subsoil as to make it rather difficult to believe that one had been disturbed and not the other. However, though the "black line" was missing, the dark gray sandy loam which generally occurs immediately beneath the black line was just the same as usual in character, with black particles, some like coal, imbedded in it, and further north the bright red sand gave place in its turn to quarry rubbish, so that it is possible that the red sand was thrown up from below, and had settled in the course of many hundreds of years to its present appearance.

I. THE

I. THE VALLUM. v. APPLETREE. 1895.

East of trench A at Bleatarn the ridge-sections, so well marked previously, are no longer to be traced. I thought I saw them in a section at Highfield near Old Wall, but had no opportunity of studying them carefully. They were not visible at Appletree, where, one-and-a-quarter miles west of Birdoswald, the next section I have seen was made. The Vallum is on a very large scale here, but the section merely showed a mixed reddish upcast lying on a white line (the black line which lies between them being very fragmentary) about 27 feet wide in the north mound and 24 feet wide in the south. The distinctive feature was the appearance of an extremely small mound on the verge of the southern scarp of the ditch. It had a black line three feet in width dividing it from the yellow and red subsoil, but the upcast was different in colour and kind from that in the two principal mounds—more mixed, and more difficult to distinguish from the ordinary surface soil. This was only 18 inches deep, while the upcast of the north mound was 5 feet, and of the south mound 4 feet 6 inches. The ditch was not excavated. Specimens of the various coloured earths from this trench were submitted to Professor Hughes, who pronounced them to be all the same natural soil, acted upon by decaying vegetation and mixed by disturbance.

I. THE VALLUM. vi. GILSLAND VICARAGE. 1894.

At Gilsland, in the Vicarage garden, the sections were very different.* The north mound is on a small scale (the south mound has been destroyed in making the schoolyard) but shows the core to consist of large rough stones (12 by 10 inches and 10 by 9 inches, and such like) lying amongst mixed reddish grey gravel on a bed of loam, between the two being fragmentary indications of the "black line." A trench † 23 feet east of this, and lower down the slope on which the Vallum lies, showed the stone core in more concentrated form, as though a ridge had been deliberately built, perhaps to strengthen the mounds on the slope. Northwards was found a thin layer of black matter, as though a pool or moss might have formed here and led to the deposit of decomposed vegetation. North again of this was another much smaller ridge of stones.

In course of examining and drawing these sections one impression has fixed itself firmly in my mind: that the

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., Plate VIII.
† *Ibid*, Plate X.

builders

builders of the so-called Vallum cared very much for the construction of the ditch and not much for anything else. The mounds vary in number, position, dimensions, and construction. The land having been ploughed in most places will account for lowering and spreading the mounds and filling the ditch, but it will not account for the existence or absence of space between the mounds and the ditch, for cores or no cores, for two mounds or four mounds, or for a measure of 104 feet over all at one section in Bleatarn Park and 170 feet at Brunstock. The ditch appears to be always the same in design, though not always equally wide, and probably not always equally deep.

I am inclined to think that the builders of the Vallum must have generally begun their work by deciding on the width of the ditch, and, digging up the turf and (discoloured) soil on its surface, have laid it in lines at such a distance from the proposed scarp of the ditch as to prevent the risk of any further upcast rolling back into the hollow. These lines of mixed turf and soil would be likely to form themselves into the light grey ridges with irregular black streaks in them, which we often saw. Over these would be piled the spoil from the ditch as it was excavated, the mounds therefore showing all the various strata in inverse order to that in which they are seen at the sides of the ditch. Water and vegetable matter would accumulate in the ditch, forming the masses of dark and light grey peaty soil found in almost every section. After the desertion of the Vallum large masses of soil from the mounds would slide down and partly fill the ditch, thus accounting for the upcast being often found next below the present surface of the ditch as well as of the mounds.

The shape of the ditch, whenever the excavators could get deep enough to judge, seems to have been flat bottomed with shelving sides, about as wide at the top as the

fosse

fosse north of the Stone Wall, much wider at the bottom, and not so deep :

VALLUM.
Fig. 1.

WALL.
Fig. 2.

II.—THE TURF WALL.

A road from Lanercost to Gilsland, passing Birdoswald (Amboglanna), ascends a steep hill and crosses the site of the Vallum about a mile from Lanercost, near to Banks. From this point it runs for two-and-a-half miles on the site of the Stone Wall, whose foundations are often visible in the roadway. Near to a farm-house marked as Wall Bowers on the map,* a large and well-defined ridge, with a deep ditch running on its north side, starts on the south side of the road and runs nearly parallel to it, but slightly more southward, for a mile and a half, the ditch at least being easily traceable to within a few hundred yards of Amboglanna. South of this ridge the Vallum is clearly marked all the way, and these two works are almost exactly parallel.

Excavations† in 1895‡ showed that the ridge was the remains of a wall built, like the Antonine Wall, of turves. The principal section cut was at Appletree, where, in the field south of the road, the ground falls rapidly to a small watercourse, and then rises again till a point 315 feet south of the Stone Wall is reached, and here a trench began, and was carried across the whole of the earthworks. A fragmentary black line, with disturbed reddish soil above it, and red and yellow undisturbed subsoil below, showed the extent of a

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art., x., Plate I.

† Excavations in 1896 show that the ditch of the Turf Wall certainly came within 200ft. of the Station, and probably touched it. (See Art. xxii of the present Volume).

‡ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plates II. and III.

glacis

glacis about 45 feet wide, whose summit was two feet above the natural surface indicated by the black line. The ground then fell towards a fosse, whose axis was 385 feet from the road and Stone Wall. The shape of the ditch had been nearly that of a V, but with a flat bottom, 18 to 24 inches wide, nine feet or more below the ancient surface. Its form exactly resembled that of the fosse north of the Stone Wall (see p. 403). South of this ditch the subsoil of red sandy loam is capped with a black line, sometimes double, and one or two inches thick, extending for nearly 30, and, in some other sections, perhaps 40 feet. From 18 to 23 feet in the middle of this, or rather towards its southern extremity, is again covered with lines of alternate light grey sand and black carbonaceous matter, indicating the remains of a wall built by laying turves one on the top of another. The sods had been cut with feather edges, not angular as we cut them. They had then been laid in a row, green side downwards (fig. 3) and another row above this, in the hollows, so as to "break the joints" as in brick-work, each turf in this row being bent and almost broken by the weight above it (fig. 4).

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

This effect was noticeable in several places, but of course in many parts of the sections the black and white were too much mixed and broken up to trace the sods clearly. In some places seven or eight rows could be counted one above another, but it seemed as if the wall had been partly at least demolished intentionally. The whole is covered by a thick layer of reddish soil.

I was much struck by the total difference in the method of construction of the Turf Wall and the Vallum. Instead of mere upcast from a ditch, the southern ridge is a most carefully-built structure, with a berm, ditch, and glacis exactly

exactly resembling those of the Stone Wall; so exactly indeed, that if the theory finds favour that the Turf Wall once ran from sea to sea, no better reason is needed than the existence of such a ditch and general substructure, for choosing exactly the same line for a later wall of stone. The reason for divergence here might possibly be found in the landslips which have carried away part of the Vallum, though when these occurred we do not know. They still continue, but some must have occurred at a very early period. If the builders of the Stone Wall diverged at all from the Turf Wall at Birdoswald, they could not possibly, owing to the nature of the ground, rejoin it before reaching Wall Bowers.

III.—The Stone Wall.

There is now but little left in Cumberland of the Wall and its Mile Castles, which once began as far west as Bowness-on-Solway and extended to the Poltross Burn, and so across Northumberland.

A fine piece has been carefully cleared in the grounds belonging to the Vicarage near Gilsland railway station. On its south side four or five courses of stones are clearly marked,* the lowest projecting slightly in places and leaving it uncertain whether it were an ordinary course or a footing. Then comes a footing 5in. wide and 8in. high. Below this is a projecting surface 23in. wide, which a trench showed to be 9½in. high, and below it again was a layer of stone 10in. wide and 6½in. high. The Wall itself is about 7ft. thick, but as its northern base is covered with earth, the width of the northern footing could not be here ascertained. The layer 23in. wide gave rise to some discussion as to whether it was a foundation course or a footpath along the Wall. At Brunstock a similar pavement was found, about 20in. wide, but it was at least 5ft. south of the mass of concrete which was all that was left of the Wall itself. Indeed the Wall has so completely disappeared that it is impossible to say exactly where the south face was. In a trench at Bleatarn,†

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., Plate VII. and Fig. 3.
† These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x, Plate VI.

(H on the map) a wide stone touched the remains of the Wall,* but these were so dismantled that we could not feel certain that any of the facing-stones were *in situ*, and indeed the stones were so rough and rounded that it seemed likely that we had only touched the core of the Wall, and that the facing-stones had rested on the wide stone which so closely resembled the pavement. There was something like it at Chapelfield, but I did not see the traces of the Wall itself, and do not know how far it was from the pavement. I heard that the pavement was seen at Hare Hill.†

The facing-stones of the Wall, wherever visible, are well-dressed stones, not perfectly regular in size, but laid in well-defined courses, which follow the slope of the ground unless it is too steep for them to retain their position, instead of being laid horizontally as in modern work. The middle of the Wall at Gilsland was filled with irregular stones imbedded in mortar, much like the remains exposed at Bleatarn and elsewhere. We were shown one or two coping-stones at Gilsland, but not *in situ*.

We noticed that there is generally a fairly level surface of apparently undisturbed soil some feet in width, a little below the modern surface, both north and south of the site of the Wall. Both were seen at Brunstock, the north one in a trench ‡ (G on the map) cut from the Wall across the north fosse, and both north and south in another trench, (H) § cut across the site of Wall; and its existence is evident whenever measurements are taken of the modern surface where the traces of the Wall and fosse are distinct. In the sections it was generally indicated by a line of black or very dark matter overlying another line almost colourless, but otherwise of the same nature as the subsoil next under it. This, no doubt, represented the ancient surface of turf, or sometimes a marshy pool that had lain near the Wall. The width of this level surface *north* of the Wall seems to have varied somewhat. At Brunstock and Bleatarn it seemed to have been about 23ft. from the Wall to the top of the scarp of the ditch. In all three of the sections named above which were cut across this level surface, we found a heap of red sandstone debris lying some feet from the Wall. There were large and small stones, mostly rough and broken, as though those who had despoiled the Wall of its well-dressed facing-stones to build with elsewhere, had thrown out the stones for which they had no use towards the ditch. I saw one

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate VII.
† We thought we saw it again at Birdoswald in 1896.
‡ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate VI.
§ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate VII.

dressed

dressed stone 16in. in length, one end 8½in. by 13½in., the other 5in. by 5in.

The fosse itself is generally of considerable width at the present surface, varying from 35 to 70 feet. Where it is fairly well marked, (which is throughout a great part of its course) the bottom of the ditch is now from 4ft. 6in. to 7ft. or even more below the ordinary surface. I think the sections at Brunstock and Bleatarn (G) were the only cuttings made across it, and the one at Bleatarn was not surveyed. The bottom of the original ditch may have been reached here (I find a note in my book, "Red sand at bottom below black peat," which looks as if the subsoil had been touched—but I was told this, the trench having been partly filled up before I got there). It was certainly not reached at Brunstock, water draining in and preventing further excavation. I have no certain measurements, but am left with the impression of a V-shaped ditch, possibly rather flat instead of pointed at the very bottom, exactly like that of the Turf Wall, where it was thoroughly excavated and carefully measured.

Both sections indicate that the earth from the ditch was thrown out to the north, where a mass of disturbed soil, like the subsoil of the ditch, lies on a black line of ancient vegetation. There seems to have been a not very wide flat surface or "covered way" between the *glacis* thus raised and the counterscarp (north) of the ditch. The surface levels everywhere indicate a *glacis* and generally suggest, as did the section at Bleatarn, that the south face of this was decidedly steeper than the north, which sloped away towards the natural surface. The fosse is now filled up with black peaty soil, such as one would expect to find in a deep ditch.

IV.—The Road.

Several of the trenches cut have been carried across the ground between the Wall and the Vallum, in hope of finding the Roman military way which is known to have run south of the Wall but not far from it.

At Brunstock this road was fouud nearly 30ft. from the mass of concrete which represented the foundations of the Wall.* It was 21ft. wide, composed of loose sandstone fragments with large stones at its axis and edges. To the north of it was a very shallow ditch with black mud at the bottom, 10ft. wide, and south of the road were

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., Plate I. (Map).

traces

traces of a similar, but probably narrower ditch, broken into, at the point trenched, by a modern drain. The large stones in the middle were on a decidedly higher level than those at the sides, and would maintain the curved surface of the road. A trench at the west side of the park showed the road again. At White Moss it was traced in several trenches. In the principal section it was found 111ft. from the edge of the Wall.* The original surface of the soil was shown by a layer of black peat 4in. thick, lying on the sandy subsoil; on this was a layer of grey sandy clay, 6in. thick and 27ft. 6in. wide. Here a double kerb of large stones in the middle of the road, and a kerb at each side, were even more clearly seen than at Brunstock. The rest of the road was covered with a layer of gravel and stones 10in. thick and 22ft. 10in. wide, the stones near the bottom of the layer being larger than the rest. The whole is covered with modern peat 2in. thick. On each side of this road was a small ditch filled with block matter, the north one 3ft. wide and 2ft. 2in. deep, the south 1ft. 6in. wide and 1ft. 2in. deep. The Vallum lay 107ft. further south.

At Bleatarn the road was sought for in vain. It goes close up to the Baron's Dyke (see p. 393,) but eastward it cannot be found. A carpenter living near says that at one time there were large piles of ancient wood in the tarn between the mound and the Wall, whence the homestead takes its name.† He cannot say if they were set in any particular order, but is it possible that the road was carried on them? Horsley‡ speaks of the Wall as having been carried on piles over the low ground, but the foundations of the Wall can be traced, and no sign of piles has been seen in the trenches, though in the quarry trench close by pieces of black wood have been well preserved. I saw traces of the road and its ditches again at Highfield, near Old Wall. At Appletree there seemed to be no indication of the road, but it was found again near the mile castle between High House and Amboglanna.§

The existence of the road between the Wall and Vallum at Gilsland Vicarage is a matter of uncertainty. Some of us thought we observed it, some did not. Three at least of the trenches showed a loose mass of sandy rubbish, not exactly like the surrounding soil, with fragments of sandstone, which certainly gave the writer very little idea of a road, but when the horizontal measurements of these trenches and the positions of certain large stones in each were afterwards

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., Plate IV.
† These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate VI.
‡ *Britannia Romana*, p. 154.
§ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate I.

compared

compared, they were strangely coincident if accidental. In the uppermost trench* there was a large stone (16 by 15 by 12 ins.) 13ft. from the north edge of the Vallum, two stones (15 by 9 and 8 by 6in.) ten and eleven feet further north, then a quantity of good-sized fragments for about fifteen feet, then two more large stones (9 by 6 and 13 by 10 inches). In the next trench† there was a large stone (12 by 7in.) a little way north of the Vallum, and another (17 by 15in.) 3ft. 6in. north of this. Then the same fragments and sand as in the upper trench, and thirteen feet north of the last-named big stone came another, close to which the sand and fragments ended. In the lowest trench (touching the Wall) the appearance was still less that of a road. But having noted in what part of the trench the ground was full of stones of one sort or another, we found that the width was 15ft. 6in. The north edge of this was only six feet from the lowest layer of the stones of the Wall or footpath.

V.—Note on the Traces of Quarrying at Bleatarn.

Before the excavations of 1894 and 1895 many theories had been started concerning the mounds and hollows in the field at Bleatarn, but no one seems to have suspected their real origin till, in 1894, a trench was cut under Mr. Calverley's superintendence, which showed that the red sandstone rock, which is still worked at Hethersgill to the north, and is visible in the bed of the river at Crosby-on-Eden to the south, here too comes near the surface. Further investigation showed that a large part of the field has at an early time been worked for stone.

The western end of the field, and part of the northern,‡ is low and mossy, but the ground rises sharply at the edge of this moss, and then follows a higher level of great extent. Just north of where the Vallum climbs to this level there is a large hollow with a small oval mound in the middle, and a depression to the north-east through which it is partly drained. A trench (E on the map) was cut across the small oval mound and southwards across the Vallum in 1894, and was re-opened and widened (F on the map) in 1895.§ The small oval

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., Plate VIII.
† *Ibid*, Plate X.
‡ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate VI.
§ *Ibid*, Plates IV. and V.

mound

mound consisted of a mass of small sandstone fragments imbedded in sand, lying loosely at all sorts of angles, evidently rubbish thrown up by the hand of man. Between this and the north mound of the Vallum was a hollow filled with a mixture of black peaty sand and dark red sand to within three feet of the surface. Above this is a layer, 18in. thick, of black matter, almost entirely leaf mould, though there is not a tree within 250 feet now, and then only a row of Scotch firs with an occasional oak, while the leaves found are alder. This mould was again covered by reddish gravelly upcast, which seemed to have slid down from the Vallum mound. South of this the western side of the trench showed the upcast resting on dark-grey sandy loam; below this were sandstone fragments in sand, but laid flat and even as in trench D, see p. 395,) and untouched by man, with a few erratic water-worn stones (porphyritic, with no trace of glacial scratchings) and underneath this came red sand, resting on red sandstone blocks. At the south end of the trench it was seen that the bed of sandstone fragments came to an end eastwards, so that the dark gray sandy loam lay on the bright red sand. The blocks below were irregular, but seemed to be fixed and *in situ*, except one on the western side, which a local quarryman said had been detached and then left as being of inferior quality. North of these, and some five to seven feet below the sloping surface of the ground, lay a wide level surface of red sandstone rock, evidently solid, measuring six feet from north to south. A rift in it, filled with red clay, ran nearly north and south, and extended southward between the blocks lying on it. On the flat surface were numerous tool-marks, both in the part disturbed in 1894 and in that opened only in 1895. It was certain that in the latter part at all events the marks were not made by our workmen. The quarryman thought they were made by men throwing their tools down when not required, rather than in getting the stone. The northern rock-face fell vertically, but water prevented our getting much deeper. On the few inches exposed were very distinct marks, where wedges had been used to work the stone. The quarryman pointed them out with great certainty, and remarked that he "would have used one or two more wedges" himself. The face of the rock at the east side of the trench indicated another layer a few inches below, projecting very slightly. The rock-face was 159ft. 6in. from the axis of the Vallum ditch. The quarry must have been covered in very soon after it was first opened, for the soft rock weathers very quickly, and the marks on it were as clear and sharp as those made by our workmen.

The modern road from the west, which has run for two or three miles on the site of the Wall, turns off southward about half-way along

along the field, avoiding the site of a now half-dry tarn which has given its (probably Norse) name to Bleatarn. But the Wall, as a section (H on the map) proved positively, ran straight on just north of the tarn, while on the south rises a high, nearly isolated mound, across which another section (I on the map) was cut.* This mound consisted of quarry rubbish, but whence and why gathered could not be satisfactorily proved. The upper part at least was comparatively modern, for a pipe of the type known locally as "fairy pipes," and some glazed pottery of quite late date were found three feet below the surface, a little below a darkish line which certainly represented an older, but not original, surface. The "tarn," however, must be much older, and is certainly artificial. Some of us considered that it had been quarried, and that part of the mound was its spoil-bank. The trench (H) to the north showed a dark-grey line resting on apparently undisturbed subsoil, which confirmed the impression that the Wall occupied undisturbed ground.

Quarrying has evidently been carried on here extensively, though the date cannot be fixed with any certainty; but some points seem worth notice. The quarry at trench F must have been later than the building of the Vallum, for the workers have encroached slightly on the north mound: this is shown not only by the dimensions of the Vallum, but by the vertically-cut face of the various strata on the north side of the mound. It seems likely that the quarrymen wished to preserve the Vallum to some extent, for they have ceased working where the stone is still very good, but where further work would have imperilled the north mound. This might be due to the difficulty of working where there was so much superincumbent earth, but it hardly accounts for the quarry having been immediately filled in. It is certain that the Romans must have needed stone for their Wall. It is also certain that in later ages it has often been customary to use the remains of the Wall as a quarry, and not as a rule to trouble with further getting of stone. Whenever the quarry was first in use. it has not been touched for many centuries. All trace or tradition of stone in the neighbourhood was gone till Mr. Calverley struck it in 1894. If the tarn were a quarry it must have been disused in the days of the early settlers, who called it Blea (blue) tarn.† If the theory which has lately been revived by Mr. Bates in his History of Northumberland (chap. II.) be correct, and the Stone Wall generally followed the line of an earlier Wall of Turves, it would account for the line of the Wall being intentionally left intact during the quarrying, supposing this to have been Roman work.

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* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plates VI. and VII.
† On this name see *ante* pp. 194 and 217.

ART. XXI.—*Comparative View of the Dimensions of t Vallum in Northumberland.* By MRS. HODGSON, Newb Grange.

BETWEEN the Poltross Burn on the borders of Cum berland and Northumberland, and the North Tyne the Vallum crosses a tract of country little susceptible c cultivation, and the earthwork has been disturbed in ver few places by other than natural forces. At Limeston Bank, the most easterly point surveyed by my husband, even these have had little effect in altering the position c the large blocks that lie on the sides of the ditch, which being cut through the rock, also retains its form. Th sides are vertical, which is unusual, but is accounted fo by the cleavage of the rock. The mounds all contain larg blocks like those lying on the berms, but they are covere with soil and turf.

West of Carraw the earthwork is on a grand scale fo some distance, but the inner mound varies considerably in width within even a few hundred yards, so that both Horsley,† who speaks of the inner mound as generally the larger, and Bruce,‡ who differs from him, may have been correct, only Bruce's drawing is too neat and diagrammatic to express the present state of the work and the consequent uncertainty of measurement.

In the next three sections there was no trace of the inner south mound, and I have included them under type B.§ Near Bradley Hall (on the eastern side of the curve there) we saw some large stones on both berms. One I measured roughly was 5ft. 3in. by 4ft. by 2ft 3in.

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* (See Plate I, opposite.)
† *Britannia Romana*, p. 146 and Plan.
‡ *Roman Wall*, p. 52, orig. ed.
§ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. xv, p. 244.

near

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ART. XXI.—*Comparative View of the Dimensions of the Vallum in Northumberland.* By MRS. HODGSON, Newby Grange.

BETWEEN the Poltross Burn on the borders of Cumberland and Northumberland, and the North Tyne, the Vallum crosses a tract of country little susceptible of cultivation, and the earthwork has been disturbed in very few places by other than natural forces. At Limestone Bank, the most easterly point surveyed by my husband,* even these have had little effect in altering the position of the large blocks that lie on the sides of the ditch, which, being cut through the rock, also retains its form. The sides are vertical, which is unusual, but is accounted for by the cleavage of the rock. The mounds all contain large blocks like those lying on the berms, but they are covered with soil and turf.

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§ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. xv, p. 244.

near

Near Melkridge Bog the Vallum is overhung from both north and south. The inner south mound is not easily traced by the eye, but the level shows it well-marked. It has many large stones in it, showing through turf. They are also seen on the north berm and in the principal mounds. At the east end of the field the inner south mound looked the larger of the two, but a bull was master of the situation, and we took no measurements.

The eastern section near Cawfields is on a very large scale, the western is considerably smaller, as the ditch has been partly filled up by natural causes, and the north mound, on very sharply rising ground, has always been much narrower and lower than usual. I have been somewhat doubtful whether to include these under profile A. (with a small inner mound) or to compare them with profile C. of the Cumberland sections at Bleatarn and elsewhere, where there are two principal inner mounds and two subsidiary outer mounds. The various types really graduate into each other, as would be seen if we could take a still larger series of measurements. Sir W. Crossman takes the inner and outer mounds to represent the first and second "throw" of the earth from the ditch, which readily accounts for the differences.

To sum up the results up of the measurements: The ditch of the Vallum varies in width at the present surface from 4ft. or 5ft. at White Moss and Bleatarn to 40ft. and 43ft. near Bradley Hall, at Brunstock, and at Combe Crags. Its depth below the probable natural surface I have not estimated in Cumberland except at Appletree, where it is 9ft. In Northumberland it varies from 3½ft. west of Cawfields to 9ft. at Limestone Bank.

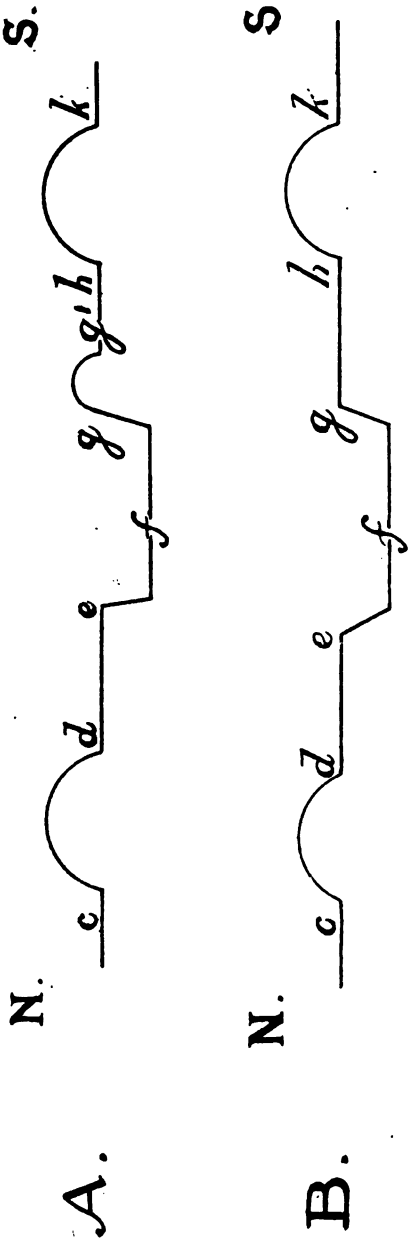
The north mound varies in width from 15ft. at Gilsland and 17ft. at White Moss to 43ft. at Appletree and 50ft. west of Carraw. The inner south mound, where it is smaller than the outer, varies from 8ft. and 9ft. at Appletree and Limestone Bank, to 19ft. and 20ft. west of Carraw

TYPES OF PROFILE OF VALLUM. Diagrammatic only, not to any scale.

A is the profile given by Dr. Bruce (The Roman Wall, original edition, p. 52.)

The present surface is measured in feet, the distances along slopes being reduced to horizontal.

References in column of names are to illustrations by T. H. Hodgson. Plate I.



I.—Horizontal Measurements. (in feet.)

	Type of Profile.	*c* to *d*.	*d* to *e*.	*e* to *f*.	Axis of the Vallum Ditch.	*f* to *g*.	*g* to *g*¹.	*g* or *g*¹ to *h*.	*h* to *k*.	Total North to South
Limestone Bank	A	25	30	7		8	9	25	22	126
West of Carraw	A	50	17	15		17	19	5	32	155
North of Moss Kennel	B	35	20	15		9	.....	25	20	124
North of Bradley Hall	B	35	15	.18		22	.....	21	23	134
East of Road to Peel Farm	B	25	23	13		22	.....	20	16	119
North of Melkridge Bog	A	37	17	.13		22	12	13	20	134
East of Cawfields Mile Castle	A	36	14	18		15	15	15	30	143
West of Cawfields Mile Castle	A	20	28	15	.....	8	20	10	25	126

II.—Height of Mounds above, and depth of Ditch below, the probable natural surface.

Limestone Bank	.....	3	.....	.....	9	.....	1½	.....	4½	.....
West of Carraw	.....	5	.....	.....	5	.....	3½	.....	5	.....
North of Moss Kennel	.....	5	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	4	.....
North of Bradley Hall	.....	2	.....	.....	4	...	.....	.....	4½	.....
East of Road to Peel Farm	.....	3	.....	.....	5½	.....	.....	.....	5	.....
North of Melkridge Bog	.....	4½	.....	.....	4	.....	1	.....	4	.....
East of Cawfields Mile Castle	.....	5	.....	.....	8	.....	3	.....	5	.....
West of Cawfields Mile Castle	.....	1	.....	.....	3½	.....	2	.....	4	.....

Carraw and west of Cawfields. Where it is the larger of the two, at Whitemoss and Bleatarn, it is 24ft. to 29ft. wide. The outer principal south mound varies from 16ft. near Peel Farm to 70ft. at Combe Crags and Brunstock. I have not calculated the heights of the mounds in Cumberland except at Appletree, but including this with the Northumberland sections, the height of the north mound varies from 1ft. west of Cawfields to 5ft. at Appletree and three other places. The inner south mound varies in height from 1ft. to 3½ft.—this last at Carraw—and the outer south mound from 4ft. to 5ft.

The measures over the whole width of the works vary from 104ft. at Bleatarn to 155ft. at Carraw, 168ft. at Combe Crags, and 170ft. at Brunstock. This last must always have been on a large scale, but has been widened by ploughing.

ART. XXII.—*Report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee*, 1896. By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.*

Communicated at Coniston, Sept. 16th, 1896.

THE excavations which were carried on during last August under the auspices of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society had three objects: To examine the Vallum for evidence of date, to trace some of the Roman roads near the Wall, and to search for any further remains of the Turf Wall found at Appletree in 1895. The work was most seriously hindered by bad weather, and the results obtained are in one or two details incomplete, but they are nevertheless of first-rate importance. Last year we were able to say that the discovery of the Turf Wall was one of the most considerable discoveries made along the wall for some years: this year our discoveries with respect to the Vallum are no less remarkable. The excavations, this year and last, have signally justified themselves. It may be convenient to summarise the results here.

1. An examination of the Vallum on the west and south sides of Birdoswald shewed that those who constructed it deviated from the straight line normally followed, and turned to pass round the south face of the fort. In other words, evidence was obtained that the fort is at least as old as the Vallum. Similar evidence was obtained at Carrawbrough, in Northumberland, and a new fact was thus revealed which had been entirely unsuspected before, and which makes it probable (as is argued below) that the Stone Wall, fort, and Vallum are of the same age. The result is worth emphasising, because it is too often forgotten that

* For the Reports of 1894-95, see these *Transactions*, xiii., 453, xiv., 185.

hitherto

hitherto our explanations of the Vallum have been little more than guesswork, based on observations of the surface to some extent, but almost wholly devoid of definite proof.

2-3. Two roads were examined. The so-called Maiden Way from Birdoswald to Bewcastle was found to be indubitably Roman work, but its alleged continuation into Scotland, as marked on the Ordnance Maps, appeared to be a fiction. Another "Roman" road, supposed to run south of the Vallum in Cumberland mainly through the parishes of Brampton and Irthington, also failed to stand the test of the spade.

4. No trace of the Turf Wall could be detected, except in the neighbourhood of where it was found in 1895, that is, between Appletree and Birdoswald. Appletree remains, therefore, the only place where it is known to exist.

As before, the excavations were greatly aided by the kindness of landowners and farmers, who gave all necessary permissions with readiness. The Society is especially indebted to the Earl of Carlisle for leave to dig at many points on his estates and for a supply of skilled labour, to Mr. Oswald Norman for leave to dig at Birdoswald, and to Sir Richard Graham of Netherby (through his agent, Mr. J. J. Bowman,) for leave to trace the alleged course of the Maiden Way on his estates north of Bewcastle. Lord Carlisle has also given us great help by very kindly allowing the writer to examine and take some notes of his estate-maps preserved at Naworth. These maps are of various dates, from 1603 onwards, and, as the references below will show, are of importance to the student of Roman Cumberland. The Committee which initiated the excavations and conducted the necessary preliminary correspondence consisted, as before, of Chancellor Ferguson and Mr. Hesketh Hodgson. All the work was done under supervision, and the sections were surveyed and drawn by Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson, for whose skilful and unwearied aid the Society is for a third time deeply indebted. A statement

ment of expenditure will be found at the end of the report.

In 1897 it is proposed to examine several points of interest in the neighbourhood of Birdoswald and Gilsland. It may be possible to make some trial of the "camps" at Hawkhirst near Brampton, and Watchclose near Crosby, to which the earlier writers on the Wall attached great importance.

I.—The Vallum at Birdoswald and Carrawbrough.

The idea underlying our examination of the Vallum was as follows:—Two forts on the Wall, Birdoswald, and Carrawbrough,* lie directly and visibly in the path of the Vallum. They do not come into contact with the earthwork because both its mounds and its ditch vanish in their vicinity, but they are so placed that a prolongation of the existing Vallum would cross their ramparts. We proposed to ascertain by excavation whether the Vallum once actually ran across the site of these forts and had been filled in before they were built, or whether it avoided them by stopping or deviating. It was plain that the first alternative would prove the forts to be later than the Vallum, while the second would prove them to be earlier or coeval. The task we set ourselves was difficult: we had to search in the subsoil for disturbed earth and other traces of a ditch of which the surface gave no sign; heavy digging was inevitable and the possibilities of error serious.

(i.) We commenced at Birdoswald (Amboglanna) on the west side of the fort. The line of the Vallum is here quite plain at a little distance, but near the fort it is invisible, and its disappearance has been made more complete by a landslip. We were able, however, to find and follow the buried ditch, which was easily distinguished from the undisturbed subsoil by its filling of disturbed earth, fragments

* Some other forts east of Carrawbrough are perhaps similarly situated, but, to judge by the maps, the point is very doubtful. See Appendix I.

of

of pottery, &c., and, in general, a bottom of black peaty matter. This ditch was found to have been constructed in a straight line with the general course of the Vallum until within 250 feet of the west wall of the fort. At this point it swerves suddenly and sharply to the south-east, passes so close to the south-west corner of the fort that it runs into the ditch of the fort and then makes a sweep round the south face of the fort (see the annexed plan). Its farther course may be perhaps examined in 1897. Its width on the south of the fort, so far as we could judge, hardly seemed to exceed 10 feet near the bottom. There were indications that it had been intentionally filled in at some early period, for the black peaty matter at the bottom resembles that found where an open drain has been filled up, and some large stones were found near the surface in most trenches which may have been used to consolidate the filling. The ditch of the fort, as far as examined, contained neither black matter nor stones, and may have silted up gradually. No trace of the Vallum mounds was noted: at some points, indeed, there was not room for them ever to have existed, so that we may suppose them not to have been thrown up near the fort. This absence of the Vallum mounds will be noted again at Carrawbrough, and is an additional argument (*inter alia*) for the non-military character of the work. If the work had a defensive value, the ramparts could hardly be omitted.

These excavations were superintended by Professor Pelham, M.A., F.S.A., Mr. Hodgson, and myself.

(ii.) The deviation of the Vallum at Birdoswald suggested the propriety of excavations at Carrawbrough (Procolitia), which also stands directly in the path of the Vallum. These were made with the permission of Mr. J. B. Clayton, of the Chesters, and of the farmer, Mr. Gibson, by Professor Pelham and myself, and though not part of the Cumberland Excavation Committee's work, may be conveniently described

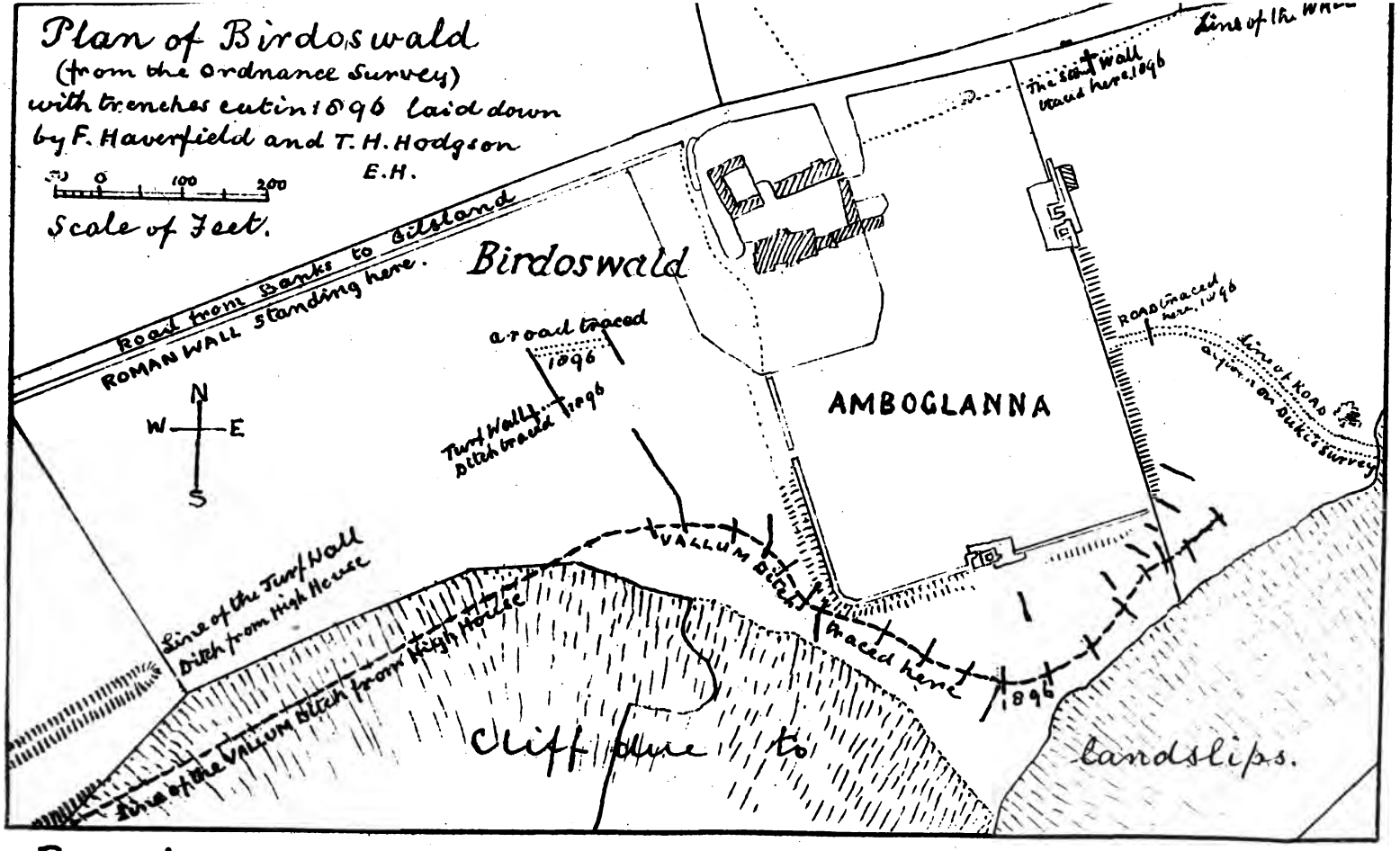

Plan of Birdoswald
(from the Ordnance Survey)
with trenches cut in 1896 laid down
by F. Haverfield and T. H. Hodgson
E.H.
0 100 200
Scale of Feet.
Road from Banks to Gilsland
ROMAN WALL standing here.
Birdoswald
a road traced 1896
Turf Wall Ditch traced 1896
N
W
E
S
AMBOGLANNA
The Turf Wall traced here 1896
Line of the Wall
ROAD traced here 1896
Line of ROAD as given on Dukes survey
VALLUM DITCH traced here 1896
Line of the Turf Wall Ditch from High House
Line of the VALLUM DITCH from High House
Cliff line to landslips.

PLATE I

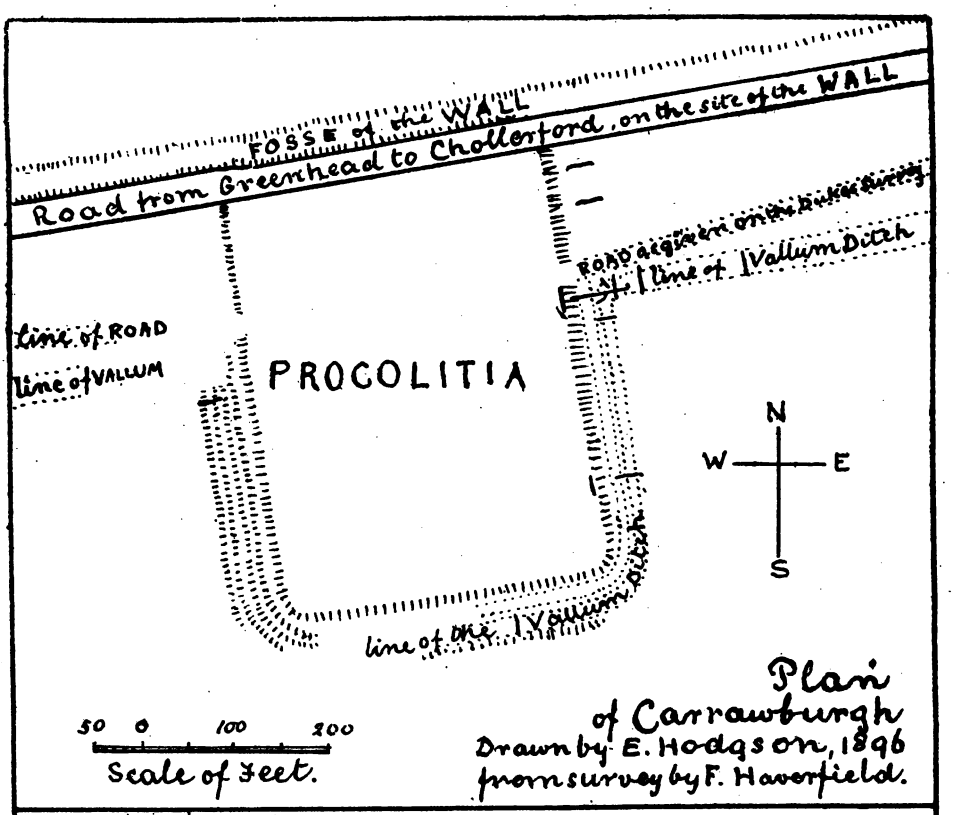
described here.* At Carrawbrough the mounds and ditch of the Vallum are clearly visible on the moor east and west of the fort, and if their course were continued in the natural straight line, they would run through the fort, but no trace is discernible in its near neighbourhood. Our trenches shewed that on the east side the ditch runs on in a straight line towards the fort till within 40 feet from it, as at Birdoswald: it is unaccompanied by the mounds. At 85 feet from the rampart it is a broad ditch, once, perhaps, 28-30 feet across at the top, and therefore of the size of the Vallum ditch: the filling was found to be disturbed earth containing some large stones, with a bottom of black peaty matter in which were bits of pottery, bone, and sewed leather (now in the Chesters museum) to a depth of at least six feet. About 60 feet from the rampart the black matter ceased to be visible: at 54 feet the large stones ceased, at 40 feet the ditch stopped. Instead, a ditch, about 15 feet wide at top, was found to run southward parallel to the rampart and to the ditch of the fort, from which it was separated by a bank of undisturbed soil some five feet wide at the top. This ditch was not discoverable in the space between the Vallum ditch and the Wall, but was traced on the south side of the fort and probably on the west side, where the surface itself suggests double ditches, and a trench shewed four feet of rubbish and made matter in the outer of the two ditches. On the east and south sides this outer ditch was found to be full of grey earth, easily distinguishable from the undisturbed soil around, but free from large stones and black matter: the ditch of the fort was of the same character. It is possible that, as at Birdoswald, the Vallum ditch was intentionally filled up, while the ditches round the fort were only filled up gradually and naturally. It has, however, been

* An account was read to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries at its meeting on September 30th. See its *Proceedings*, Vol. vii., pp. 283-286.

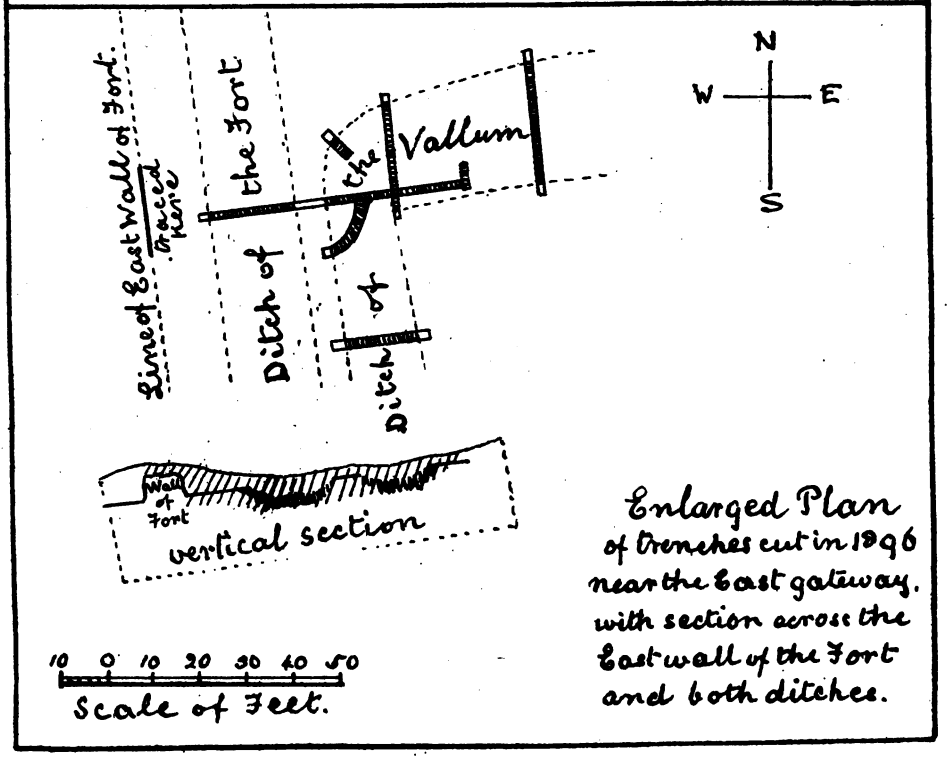
doubted

doubted whether the outer ditch is the Vallum ditch turned, for once, to some practical use, or whether the fort had a double ditch round it like many of the forts on the German *Limes*, and in other parts of the Roman Empire. As the outer ditch of Carrawbrough does not run right round the fort, but only begins where the Vallum ceases its westerly direction, it is natural to suppose it a continuation. This supposition best explains the difference in the contents of the two ditches: the one which was found inconvenient was filled in (it may be) by the Romans, the other, which gave strength to the fort, was left open and filled up gradually like the inner ditch round the fort. Before deciding the point, however, it is desirable to ascertain what is as yet unknown—whether the forts on the Wall had usually a single or a double ditch. Maclauchlan thought he detected traces of the latter at Aesica, but excavation alone can settle the question. In any case, it is plain that the Vallum does not pass through the fort. It either deviates to encircle it (as I think), or it stops entirely, and in either supposition it is plain that it cannot be earlier in date than the Fort.

It remains to draw conclusions. First, it seems now to be certain that the Vallum is not earlier in date than the forts at Birdoswald and Carrawbrough, and as no reason exists for considering these forts to be earlier (or, for that matter, later,) than most of the forts on the Wall, we may conclude that the Vallum is not earlier than these forts; it is coeval or later. We may overlook the idea that it is later, for that, in the present state of our knowledge, does not commend itself, and may consider the results deducible from the other alternative, that it is coeval. In this case, two theories and two only are tenable as to its date: either (1) forts and Vallum may be older than the Wall, or (2) forts, Vallum, and Wall may be coeval. There are, I think, two arguments which tell in favour of the latter possibility



Plan of Carrawburgh
Drawn by E. Hodgson, 1896
from survey by F. Haverfield.



Enlarged Plan of trenches cut in 1896 near the East gateway, with section across the East wall of the Fort and both ditches.

PLATE II

possibility. In the first place, as I have shewn else, where,* the mural inscriptions make it extremely probable that the Wall, its forts, and its milecastles are in the main, if not wholly, the work of Hadrian, that is, that (so far as our present purpose is concerned) the forts and the Wall are coeval. A second argument points the same way. It may be observed that throughout its course the Vallum and forts seem to stand in no definite relation. At Birdoswald the vallum sweeps round the south of the fort, at Carrawbrough it seems to form an outer ditch for it; at Carvoran and Castlesteads it runs north of it; at Housesteads and Great Chesters it is some distance to the south. On the other hand, Wall and Vallum do stand in a certain relation: the Vallum, whatever its vagaries, is at anyrate so built as always to have a space between it and the Wall: it was erected to serve some definite purpose in connection with the Wall, and that gives a presumption that it was erected at the same time as the Wall. It is perhaps useless as yet to enquire why it was erected. Hodgson, and after him Bruce, held that it was a military defence for the rear of the wall. More recently it has been pointed out that it does not resemble a military work, and high military authorities like General von Sarwey and Sir William Crossman agree in denying it a military character. Our excavations suggest the same conclusion, indicating that the important feature is the ditch which is continuous, not the ramparts which are interrupted. We must, then, look on it rather as a "civil" work, perhaps one side of a *Limes* of which the Wall is the other (as Mommsen suggests), perhaps some other form of frontier-mark most probably coeval with—conceivably, later than—the Wall. This result is not, it is true, very definite, but it is much nearer a definite

* *Proceedings of the London Society of Antiquaries*, xiv. (1892) 44-55. The evidence is more conclusive with respect to the milecastles than the forts, but Hadrianic inscriptions occur at Chesterholm and Greatchesters. The coins found in the forts seem to testify generally to an occupation in the time of Hadrian.

conclusion

conclusion than we have before been able to go. Whatever else we have done this summer, we have demolished some, at least, of those theories which flourish so luxuriantly upon the Vallum, and we have limited the area within which such theories may in future expand.

II.—The Maiden Way to Bewcastle and Beyond.

Maiden Way is the name given by archæologists to the Roman road, or rather to the two Roman roads, which run from Kirby Thore past Whitley castle to Carvoran, and from Birdoswald to Bewcastle, and perhaps beyond.* The portion examined this summer was that north of Birdoswald, which was traced in detail by the Rev. John Maughan, vicar of Bewcastle, some forty years ago, and described by him in the eleventh volume of the Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute, and on his authority, as the Director informs me, laid down on the Ordnance Survey. It seemed desirable to test Mr. Maughan's conclusions.

1. Birdoswald to Bewcastle. The course of the road from Birdoswald to Bewcastle is in general unmistakable, and has been correctly laid down by Mr. Maughan and the Ordnance surveyors. Three points are open to doubt. (i.) For the first half-mile north of Birdoswald the road has vanished in soft ground: it was apparently invisible in Mr. Maughan's time, and certainly could not be found by us. (ii.) The exact point where it crosses Kingwater cannot be traced; perhaps it was a few yards higher up than the ford (sometimes called Slittery or Slidry) where the Ordnance Map lays it down, (iii.) The approach to Bewcastle from the top of the fell near High-house, a distance of a mile and a half, cannot be traced: it possibly

* For the proper use and history of the name Maiden Way, see Appendix. By Bewcastle, I mean the castle of that name which stands on the site of the Roman fort: the name has of late years been used also to denote the *parish* of Bewcastle.

coincid d

coincided in part with the modern road from Askerton to Bewcastle, but our efforts to trace it by spade or otherwise were in vain. The best preserved pieces of the road are on Waterhead fell, near Highstead Ash, and on the fell east of Gillalees Beacon. Sections made near Highstead Ash and in Spadeadam* plantation shewed that the road was what we found it to be last year (Report 1895, p. 196), about 16½-17 feet wide, edged with large roughly squared kerbstones, and constructed of large and small cobbles and freestones laid on the natural subsoil. Its Roman origin seemed beyond question: for the most part it has probably never been touched since Roman days.

2. North of Bewcastle. The line of the road north of Bewcastle has been laid down by Mr. Maughan in detail, but our enquiries led us to disbelieve totally in this part of his conclusions. We carefully examined the whole ground from High House (see above) to the Cross, near Kettle Hall; trenched at suitable places, and asked for local information. We found no sign of any continuous track, and nothing like a Roman roadway, and we could not discover that any of the natives of the parish had ever seen such a thing, though they were familiar with the road south of Bewcastle. Mr. Maughan himself practically admits that he had found no real trace of the road north of Bewcastle, though this did not hinder him from laying down its precise course. The conclusions which we drew were (1) that the line of road laid down by Mr. Maughan is fictitious, and (2) that there is no reason to believe that any Roman road proceeded north from Bewcastle. The second conclusion may be strengthened by a reference to recent exploration in Scotland. The theory of the road north of Bewcastle formerly was that it joined the Wheel Causeway in Roxburghshire, and thus led to Roman sites

* I am unable to explain this odd name, which appears in the same shape in seventeenth century maps. There are some places in Scotland, *e.g.*, Blairadam in Kinross, which shew the same suffix.

further

further north. Dr. James Macdonald has lately examined the Wheel Causeway and finds that it is not Roman.*

The examination of the Maiden Way was done mainly by Mr. Booker and myself, partly also by Prof. Pelham and Dr. James Macdonald, F.S.A. Scot.

III.—A Supposed Continuation of Stanegate.

Stanegate is a Roman road in Northumberland which runs south of the vallum from Carvoran through Chesterholm to a point near the meeting of the North and the South Tyne, and which probably (though it is no longer traceable) extended as far as the Roman fort at Chesters or that at Corbridge.† It forms a short and easy means of communication between the eastern and western parts of the mural region, and unites the Watling Street at Corbridge with the Maidenway at Carvoran. Since the time of Horsley it has been supposed that this road was continued into Cumberland. Horsley himself thought that it ran more probably from Castlesteads than Carvoran, and formed only a straight cut from Castlesteads by Irthington and the Watchclose "camp" to Stanwix (*Britannia* p. 144). Others have traced it from Carvoran to Gilsland, Denton, Naworth Park, the Roman "camp" at Hawkhirst, Watchclose, and so into Carlisle. Many portions of this supposed road are marked on the Ordnance maps, on what authority I have not been able to ascertain.

The following portions of this road were examined by

* *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xxix. (189.) 323-328. See further in the Appendix to this Report.

† See Horsley's *Britannia*, p. 144; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, Part 2, iii., p. 288, 411; Maclauchlan's Survey, pp. 30, 47, 50. A milestone found on the Stanegate at Crindledykes, near Chesterholm, contains the mileage MP XIIII (*Ephem. Epigraphica*, vii, No. 1108). The spot where this stone was found is just fourteen Roman miles from the site of the Roman fort at Corbridge, and, as no other Roman site suits the mileage so well, we may perhaps incline to the view that the Stanegate went to Corstopitum. Hodgson thought that from Corbridge it went to Newcastle by the 'Ald-he-way.'

excavation:

excavation: (1) Gilsland.* With the assistance of the Rev. A. Wright, I examined an old road which crosses the Gilsland school playground from north-east to south-west. This playground was once a peat-moss: the road across it consists of a layer of large freestones, cobble and gravel, about 12 feet wide, the larger stones being generally on the outside or in the middle. The whole was quite roughly made, and though possibly, was not at all certainly, Roman work. At the north-west angle of the playground the road seems to turn west and after running parallel to the modern road for a little, to run into it; here it is on firmer ground and its construction is less solid, its stones much smaller, and the whole unlike Roman work. Further excavations are needed at this spot. There are traces of a (presumably) Roman bridge over the Poltross burn not far from the playground, and the roadway which crossed it deserves tracing.

(2) Denton. Trenches were dug by Prof. Pelham across the line of "Roman road," marked on the Ordnance Map, near Denton Mains. No traces of a roadway could be found. The Director of the Ordnance Survey tells me that the evidence on which this road was laid down on the Ordnance Maps, is in reality insufficient. It may, therefore, be dismissed from further consideration. Further down the valley, near the Nook farm, there are traces of the old road towards Lanercost, which was in use in the last century and is marked on Warburton's map, but we could not find a suitable place for digging or any indications of a Roman road. The course of the road, as marked on the Ordnance Map, is extremely sinuous and un-Roman, and we may now take it to be fictitious. The only real reason for thinking that a Roman road ran in this locality is that some interesting Roman

* The Post Office, the Railway, and custom have given the name Gilsland to the village which has grown up on each side of the Poltross, near the hillock once called Rosehill or Rosshill. Gilsland is properly the name of the Barony.

objects,

objects, bronze work, coins, and pottery, now in the Chesters Museum, were found in building the new vicarage of Nether Denton in 1868.* The coins, however, belong mainly to the reign of Trajan, some to the reigns of his immediate predecessors, and their dates shew that the site was occupied for a short time only, either just before or while Hadrian built his Wall. We must not, therefore, argue from the remains to the road.

(3) Naworth Park. Sections were dug by myself in two places in Naworth West Park. (a) At Pavement Head, on the road between the Castle and the Quarrybeck Lodge, a small piece of roadway was found about 80 yards west of the six trees on the hill-top and close to the side of the existing road. It was a mere fragment 2½ feet wide by 20 feet long, consisting of one layer of large cobbles and freestones packed tightly together. It bears a vague resemblance to Roman work, and might possibly be a piece which escaped the plough when the West Park was under cultivation. It stands, however, quite alone, and as the road is an old one, old enough to appear in the Estate maps of 1603, the "paving" which I found may well be old without being Roman.

(b) A roadway from the Lanercost road eastwards to the stone bridge over the Castle beck and through the woods into the East Park has been thought to be Roman. It proved to be a modern road, 12 feet wide, made of small bits of freestone, and solidly constructed in a modern manner.

(4) Buckjumping is a cutting 170 feet long through a ridge of sand in a field called Dyke Nook, west of Irthington. At present it is 13 feet wide at the bottom and 20 feet deep, but Mr. R. G. Graham of Beanlands, the owner of the field, tells me that his father threw in

* See these *Transactions*, i., 88. Compare the Lanercost urn, xiv, 195.

some

some of the earth at the top and reduced its depth. It has obviously been made by a road which has sunk into the soft sand. This roadway was carried over the ridge and not round it, probably, as Mr. Graham suggests, to avoid a small bog which until very recently barred the otherwise easy detour. The name is connected with the ancient deer forest of Brampton, on the edge of which it was, and there is a story that a buck once jumped it, but Chancellor Ferguson suggests that it may be one of the places common on the edge of deer parks, where wild deer may be driven in but cannot get out.* We found, below 4 feet of disturbed soil—obviously that thrown in by the late Mr. Graham—a roadway of small cobbles and river-gravel, at least 12 feet wide, constructed exactly like many local roads and containing a few stones broken by the hammer: beneath were at least 2 feet of apparently undisturbed sand. No trace was found of any Roman road.

(5) In Watchclose plantation the course of the supposed road may be traced easily. We trenched in several places and found everywhere a modern road. The "agger" visible on the surface was about 27 feet wide, and the thicker part of the road (cobble and river-gravel) 24 feet wide, but the stones had spread out to a width of 45 feet. Some of them were hammer-broken, and the whole resembled many local roads: below was undisturbed soil.

The excavations at Watchclose and Buckjumping were superintended by Mr. Booker and myself.

It is plain that both the Watchclose and the Buckjumping road are parts of the old road from Crosby to Irthington and Brampton, which was in use in the time of Horsley (1732) and Warburton (1753). According to

* A *buck stall* or deer trap, which is defined as a toil to take deer, which by the Stat. 19 Hen. c. 11, is not to be kept by any person that hath not a park of his own. *Jacob's Law Dictionary*. See for one, these *Transactions* Vol. x. p. 287, n. *sub voce* Shap Abbey.

local

local memory, that of Mr. J. Lightfoot of Watchclose, this road was closed about 80 or 100 years ago, and this agrees with the fact that it is marked by Warburton in 1753 but is not marked on Lord Carlisle's maps of 1772, nor on Donald's map of 1770-1. Horsley says that the natives in his day thought that a Roman road had once run along the line of this road, and this led him to suggest that a Roman road connected Castlesteads with Stanwix in a straight line. There is nothing impossible in the idea, but there is certainly no known trace of such a road.

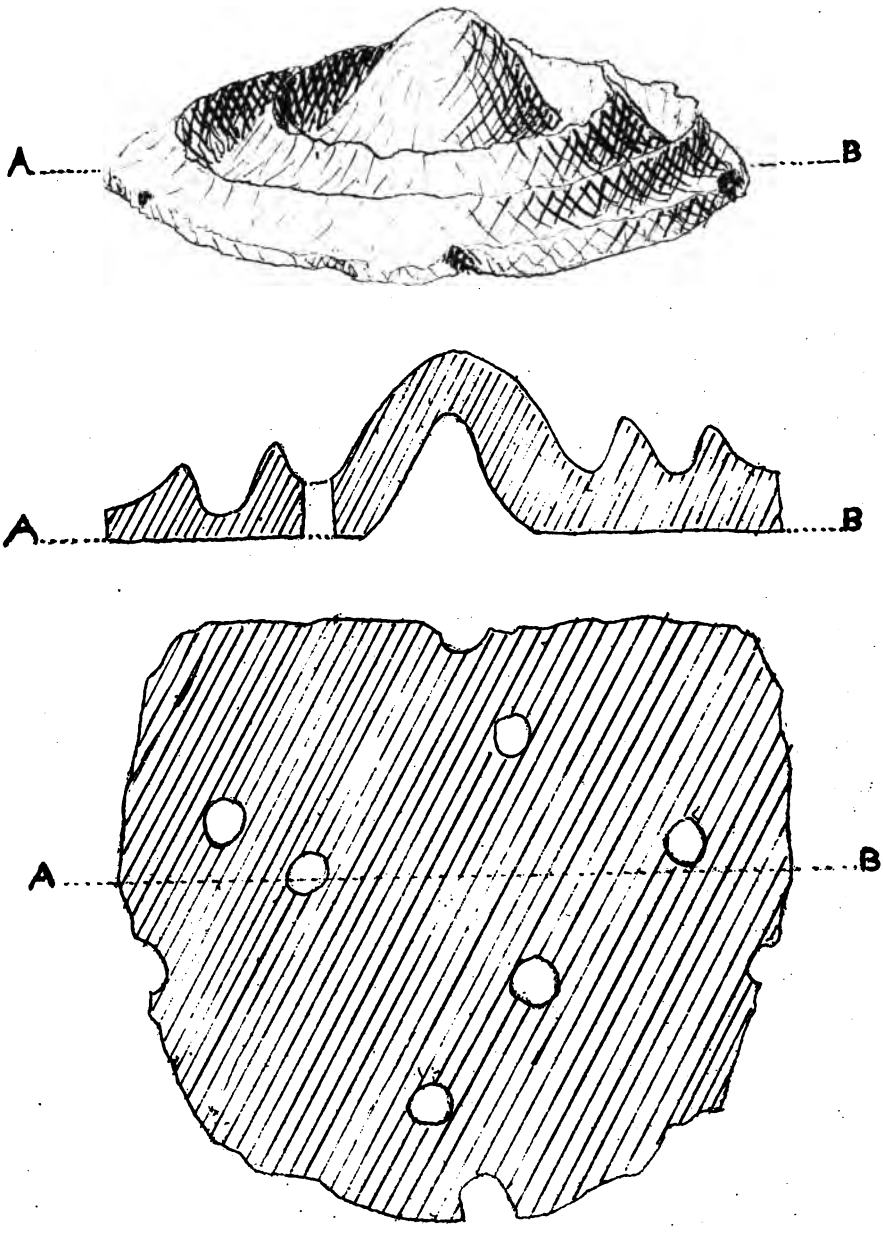
The general conclusion to which we came was that no evidence exists at present to prove that any Roman road ran through Cumberland south of the Vallum. Our search included almost all the places where such a road has been alleged, and no place yielded any definitely Roman paving.

IV.—The Turf Wall.

Search was made for the Turf Wall at Birdoswald (see Plan) by Prof. Pelham and Mr. Hodgson. It was traced by its ditch to within 250 feet of the west wall of the fort, and the point where the mural road crossed it to reach the west gate was probably discovered, though the evidence as to this was not quite conclusive. The ditch was distinguishable by its "disturbed" earth and by Roman pottery, &c., in it. Among the objects found was a so-called "strainer," found on the berm of the ditch (see Illustration). Similar "strainers" have been found elsewhere: there are specimens in the museums at Chesters and Aldborough (Yorkshire),* and one from Northamptonshire was exhibited to the London Society of Antiquaries in 1892 *Proceedings* (xiv., pp. 172-3, with illustration). Mr. C. H. Read tells me that such objects are not common, but that he has seen one or two in the Rhine valley.

* Figured inaccurately in H. Ecroyd Smith's *Reliquiae Isurianae* (plate xxviii, 9), where it is oddly said to be "a lamp of a very unusual form."

various



"Strainer", from the berm of the Turf Wall, Birdoswald.
(sketch, section, and plan)
C. Hodgson, 1896.

PLATE III

Various suggestions have been made as to their purpose: the one which finds most favour with competent judges is that they were cheese presses.

The east side of the fort was also trenched, but the results were inconclusive: possibly we shall be able to work them to a definite issue in 1897.

Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Booker also trenched across some broken ground at Walldub, near Lanercost, which had been thought likely to contain traces of the Turf Wall, if such wall is not confined to Appletree. Very little digging was needed to shew that the excrescences in question concealed no turves.

APPENDIX I. THE VALLUM.

In this Appendix I propose to deal with two points which do not come within the scope of last summer's excavations, but deserve the attention of the readers of this Report. The two points may be indicated by two questions, (i) what is the actual position of the Vallum near the forts which it passes? and (ii) is it known to deviate elsewhere than at the two forts lately excavated? I have the less hesitation in dealing with these two points here, because they both concern matters of fact, and matters of fact are just the things which mural antiquaries are apt to neglect.

(i.) What is the actual position of the Vallum near the forts which it passes? It may be well to take the forts in order, commencing from the east:—

(1) Benwell. (2) Rutchester. (3) Halton. (4) Chesters.	At all these the position of the Vallum is uncertain, and now ascertainable (if at all) only by digging. It is usually said to have run along the S. face of fort
(5) Carrawbrough.	The Vallum forms a S. ditch (see p. 418).
(6) Housesteads.	V. is about 100 yards S: very faint.
(7) Greatchesters.	350 yards S.

(7) Carvoran,

(8) Carvoran.	130-250 yards N. (See below).
(9) Chesterholm.	1000 yards N.
(10) Birdoswald.	Close to S. face.
(11) Castlesteads.	110 yards to N: faint and doubtful.
(12) Stanwix.	Probably S: doubtful.
(13) Burgh-upon-Sands.	Doubtful.

Two inferences may be drawn from this list. In the first place, as I have said (p. 419), the Vallum is in no special relation to the forts: its object, whatever it was, must have had no connection with them. In the second place, it appears true to say that the Vallum vanishes whenever it actually approaches a fort. This is certainly the case at Carrawbrough and Birdoswald, and it may therefore be more than a mere accident that we find it to be faint or doubtful in other cases where its natural line would take it close to a fort. Further excavation would, however, enable us to judge better of this point.

(ii.) Does the Vallum deviate markedly from the straight line elsewhere than at the two points lately excavated?

So far as the course of the Vallum is certain, there seem to be only three points where it shews marked and signal deviation from the natural directness of its line. These points (see Plate IV.) are (A) in front of the fort of Carvoran, (B) near Bradley and Highshield, north of Chesterholm, and (C) on Down Hill, east of Halton Chesters. In the first case the bend is apparently due to the presence of soft ground, as Dr. Bruce suggests: it can hardly be due to any attempt to avoid the fort at Carvoran. In the second case the occurrence of soft ground is an obvious and sufficient reason, while at Down Hill the Vallum sweeps round the south side of a small hill which the Wall surmounts. All these cases, therefore, seem to be the result of local peculiarities: they throw no light on the deviations of the Vallum which we discovered this year.

APPENDIX II. THE NAME "MAIDEN WAY."

"Maiden way" is the name now given by archæologists to the road, or rather the two roads, running from Kirkby Thore past Whitley Castle to Carvoran on the Wall, and from Birdoswald to Bewcastle, or beyond. In the following paragraphs I wish to consider the antiquity and proper use of this name: the conclusion to which I shall come is that the name is a very ancient appellation of the road from Kirkby Thore to Carvoran, but that its use north of the Wall is less established, and may be a comparatively modern invention of an antiquary.

With

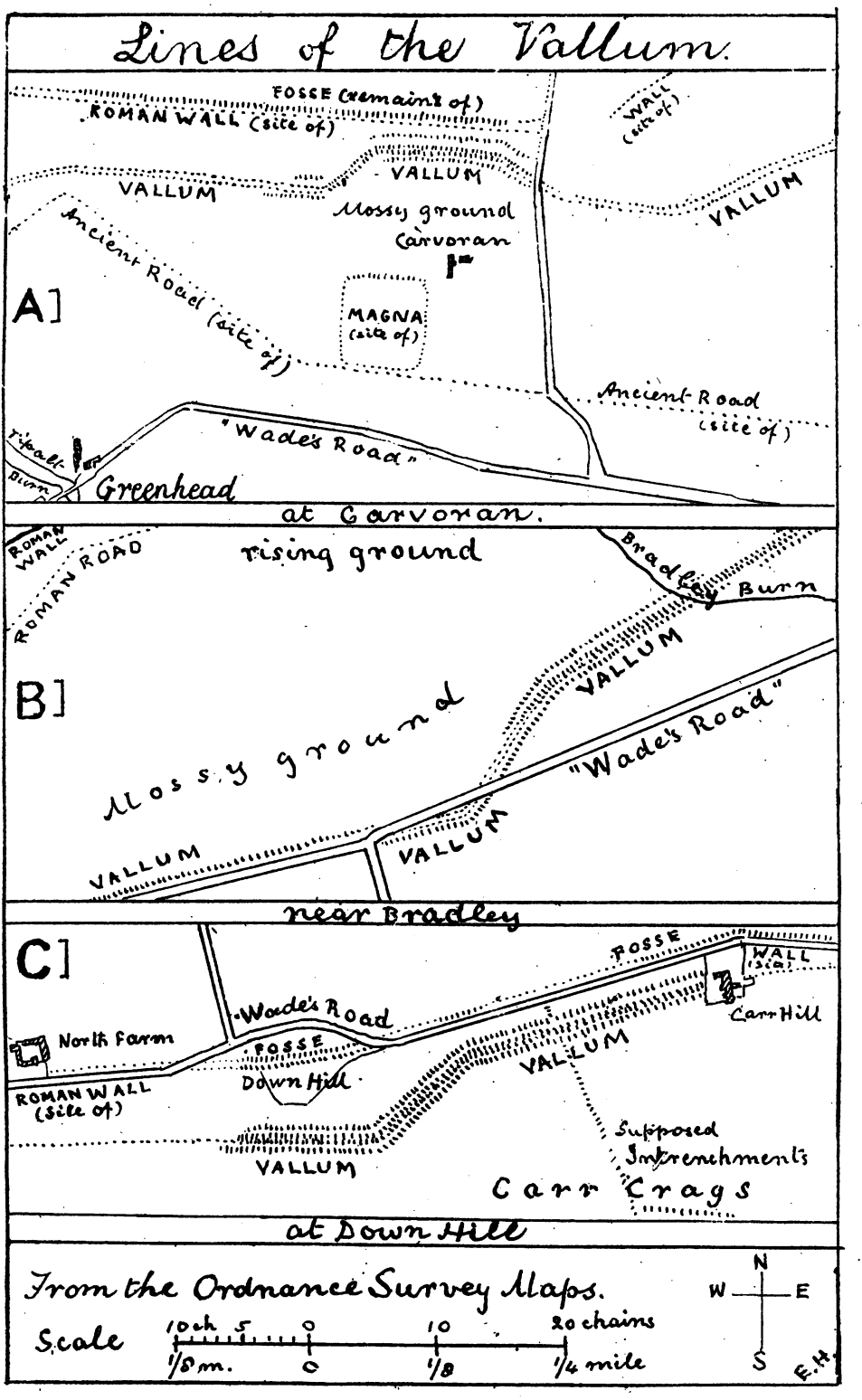

Lines of the Vallum.
FOSSE (remains of)
ROMAN WALL (site of)
WALL (site of)
VALLUM
VALLUM
VALLUM
Mossy ground
Carvoran
Ancient Road (site of)
A]
MAGNA (site of)
Ancient Road (site of)
"Wade's Road"
Tipalt Burn
Greenhead
at Carvoran.
ROMAN WALL
ROMAN ROAD
rising ground
Bradley Burn
B]
VALLUM
Mossy ground
"Wade's Road"
VALLUM
VALLUM
near Bradley
C]
FOSSE
WALL (site)
Wade's Road
Carr Hill
North Farm
FOSSE
VALLUM
ROMAN WALL (site of)
Down Hill
Supposed Intrenchments
VALLUM
Carr Crags
at Down Hill
From the Ordnance Survey Maps.
Scale
10ch 5 0 10 20 chains
1/8 m. 0 1/8 1/4 mile
N
W
E
S
E.H.

PLATE IV.

With respect to the derivation of the word, certainty seems unattainable. All the best authorities agree that the current etymology "mai-dun," the high ridge, is absolutely impossible, but they cannot suggest an etymology in its place. The word "Maiden" is no doubt the same as the first half of Maiden Castle (Dorset, &c.), Maiden Bower (Beds.), Maiden Cross, and similar names,* and it is noteworthy that the actual combination Maiden Way is, or was, in use for an old road in Aberdeenshire (Chalmers' *Caledonia*, i., 149). The geographical area over which the prefix "Maiden" occurs, suggests that it is probably Teutonic, not Celtic, and it is possible that it may embody some early English folk-lore about the miraculous works of some maiden. In other words, it may resemble the French "Chaussée de Brunehaut," or the Welsh "Sarn Helen," though it does not specify the particular maiden meant.† This explanation would suit the general sense required by the various uses of the term, which have their common element not so much in the ideas of height and strength as in that of antiquity. Nothing is commoner in early place-names than to find antiquity denoted by reference to some pre-historic or semi-historic agency which is renowned in folk-lore. This explanation of the name cannot, however, be considered as more than a guess, which has, perhaps, the advantage (enjoyed by no previous guess) of not openly violating the laws of philology and the requirements of the problem.‡

I pass on to the use of the name. 1. For the road from Kirkby Thore to Carvoran all is clear. As "Maydengate" the way figures as a boundary in thirteenth century charters quoted by Hodgson, and by Nicolson and Burn, and according to Mr. Bainbridge, who surveyed it about 1846, it is also styled "Maydenway" and "Via puellarum" in similar documents.§ Under the title Maiden way, it is known to Camden (circa 1600), Roger Gale (1709), Horsley (1732),

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* Probably we should compare such places as Maiden Well (Linc.), Maidwell (Northants), Maidenhead (Berks.), Maid's Moreton (Bucks.), Maiden Bradley (Wilts.), Maiden Newton (Dorset.) Maiden Castle recurs near Bowes, in Durham, and near Aberdeen, and is said to have been a name of Edinburgh. Maidenbower recurs in Durham. Maidstone (Kent) has a different derivation, as the oldest forms of the name shew.

† M. Reinach quotes in the *Revue Archéologique*, xxi (1893) 211, some examples of the name Vierge &c., applied to pre-historic stone monuments in France and Spain; thus a Dolmen in Brittany is "table de la vierge."

‡ I have consulted Prof. Rhys, Prof. Napier, and Mr. W. H. Stevenson on this point.

§ Hodgson's *Northumberland*, Part II. iii. 89, 93; Nicolson and Burn's *Cumberland*, i. 377; *Archæologia Aeliana* (old series) iv. 36-50

and

and most competent writers. The evidence both for the road and for the antiquity of its name is entirely adequate.

2. The connection of the road from Carvoran to Birdoswald presents great difficulties. At Carvoran the Maiden way meets the Stanegate coming from the east, and, according to Maclauchlan, the two roads continue together to Birdoswald. The traces of the road are, however, extremely faint, and the name Maiden way seems to be unknown along its supposed line. The only Roman road which we have any present right to assume between Carvoran and Birdoswald is the Mural way which accompanies the Wall, and the exact course even of this has not been examined.

3. North of the Wall the question becomes more intricate. The account now generally received is that the Maiden way, after continuing from Carvoran to Birdoswald, then passed over the fells to Bewcastle, and perhaps beyond it. There can be no question that there is a Roman way from Birdoswald to Bewcastle (see above pp. 421), but it does not follow that this way has real claim to the title Maiden way. Many good writers and maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries give tacit evidence against it. Camden, Gale, two Cumberland correspondents of the "Gentleman's Magazine" in 1755, Nicolson and Burn in their "History of Cumberland" (1777), and Hutchinson in his "View of Northumberland" (1778), write as if they supposed the Maiden way to end at Carvoran. The Naworth estate maps of 1603, 1756, and 1772, Warburton's map of 1753, Donald and Hodskinson's maps of 1770-1, mark no Roman road or Maiden way north of the Wall, and their testimony is significant, as they are independent and first hand surveys. It seems as if the very existence of a Roman way from Birdoswald to Bewcastle was unknown till this century. It first appears on a Naworth estate map made in 1828-30 by a Mr. Bowman: there it is indicated for a length of about 10 chains on the fell north of Spadeadam, at a point where it is still visible, close to a ruined tower which Mr. Bowman calls Robin Hood's Butt. It is indicated by dotted lines, to distinguish it from ordinary roads, and is called Maiden way. The next references to the road are contained in Hodgson's "Northumberland" (II, iii, 296, 1840), and in Maughan's description of it in the Archæological Journal (xi., 1854), which latter is the first complete account of it.* I have argued above that Maughan's theory of a road north of Bewcastle is wrong: it is fair to add here that our accurate knowledge of a road from Birdoswald to Bewcastle began with him. Whence Bow-

* Hodgson visited Bewcastle about 1839: Maughan was then Vicar of the parish, and it is not surprising that their views of the Maidenway agree.

man,

man, Hodgson, and Maughan got the name Maidenway will be considered below (p. 432): one point is clear, that it did not exist, so far as we know, before 1830.

So far our evidence is clear and consistent. There is, unfortunately, another body of evidence which is in conflict with it. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century a theory has been current among antiquaries that the Maiden way ran due north by Haltwhistle or by Carvoran, across the Wall and along the eastern portion of Cumberland into Scotland. The precise course assigned to this "Maiden Way" varies in various writers. The earlier ones lay down a line considerably east of Bewcastle, which indeed was not recognised as a Roman site till Horsley. Thus Stukeley, in the first edition of his "Itinerarium" (1724) assumes that a road ran from Carvoran to join the Scots Dike (now called the Black Dyke) which he and others of his time took to be a Roman road. A little later Alexander Gordon in his "Itinerarium Septentrionale" (1727) published a map on which the Maiden way is traced through Haltwhistle and along the east edge of Cumberland to join the Wheel Causeway in Roxburghshire, and the same scheme of roads appears on a map of Northumberland, Speed's, re-edited by Henry Overton, which might be earlier in date than 1727.* Shortly afterwards, Horsley in his *Britannia* (1732), seems to modify this view. He knew Gordon's work, but he had also discovered the Roman fort at Bewcastle, and observes (pp. 114, 151,) that the Maiden way, "as is said," went to Bewcastle from Carvoran: he does not, however, profess to have seen it, though he visited Bewcastle, Carvoran, and Birdoswald. Stukeley in his second edition (1776) talks of the road as crossing the Wall at Thirlwall, which name, he says (by a perversion of the ordinary legend) "retains a memory of the gate here." Hutchinson, in his "History of Cumberland" (I. 63, 95,) and William Bennet, Bishop of Cloyne, writing in Lyson's "Cumberland (1816, pp. cxxx, cxxxv,) agree roughly with Horsley or Gordon, but are both clearly writing at second-hand. Maps of Kitchin (1750), Cay (1753), Warburton (Northumberland, 1762), and Knox (1784), shew that these ideas of the Maiden way had

* Henry Overton's chronology seems imperfectly known, but he belongs certainly to the period 1660-1740. His maps of Derbyshire and Lincolnshire are dated 1712: the map of Northumberland referred to above contains the coat of arms of "George Fitzroy E. third son of the Duchess of Sutherland," and, if this be taken strictly, the map must belong to the years 1674-1683, as Fitzroy became Earl of N. in 1674 and Duke in 1683. Unfortunately such coats of arms cannot be implicitly relied upon in dating maps. It is curious that Speed's and Overton's *Cumberland* (n. d.) has no Maiden way on it. From internal evidence I should date the map of Northumberland after 1727.

got

got into common circulation, though they cannot count as independent authorities.

The question remains how we should interpret this evidence. It is not good evidence, being mostly if not entirely second-hand, and probably derived from one source. Two alternatives present themselves. Either (1) our evidence represents some very inaccurate rumour of the Bewcastle road current in the early seventeenth century. Or else (2) antiquaries prolonged the Maiden way from Carvoran into Scotland merely in order to provide a Roman road through Cumberland to Roxburghshire and the Wheel Causeway.* The second alternative is quite in keeping with that general readiness to invent which characterised many of our seventeenth and eighteenth century antiquaries, and it appears to me to be the more probable. In any case this view, that the Maiden way ran along the east edge of Cumberland, may be held responsible for a curious, and, at first sight, puzzling detail in Mr. Maughan's theory of the road. Mr. Maughan takes his road not to the fort at Bewcastle but a mile or so to the east of it: it is probable that this was suggested to him by the accounts of the Maidenway which were alone accessible to him, most of which laid down the road some distance east of Bewcastle.

It remains to notice the reference to the Maiden way in Sir Walter Scott's novel, "Guy Mannering," (chapter xiii.), which is often taken as evidence for the existence of the road at the beginning of this century. A careful reading of the passage will, I am sure, convince any reader that Scott is, on the contrary, writing without personal knowledge. He takes his hero from Gilsland past Birdoswald apparently, and yet does not allow him and Dandie Dinmont to get on to the Maiden way till close to Liddesdale. Scott is known to have been well acquainted with Gordon's "Itinerarium," and I think that his reference to the Maiden way has every appearance of being borrowed from that writer's map.

In conclusion, it may be worth while to enquire how Bowman, Hodgson, and Maughan came to call the road between Bewcastle and Birdoswald, so far as they knew it, the Maiden Way (p. 430.) No earlier writer does so, and the name cannot therefore be taken as a piece of local tradition. It is more likely that the name was

* The Wheel Causeway itself is no less puzzling than the Maiden Way. Dr. Macdonald, who has investigated the matter, tells me that the name Wheel Causeway appears first in Gordon's "Itinerarium," that the name is now locally unknown (though there is a Wheel Kirk near), and that the printed references to the name seem based on Gordon. In other words, it is possible that Gordon invented the name to describe the old track-way which undoubtedly exists near the Wheel Kirk.

derived

derived from some of the sources noted above, either from Scott's novel or from Hutchinson and Bennet (p. 431). The notion that the road ran to the east of Bewcastle, which appears in Hodgson and Maughan, suggests that they, at any rate, were influenced by their antiquarian predecessors.

EXPENDITURE, 1896.

	£	s.	d.
Labour at Birdoswald ...	7	16	0
Compensation at Birdoswald ...	1	10	0
Labour on the Roman Roads...	2	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	5	0
	£11	11	0

This expenditure was defrayed partly out of the £50 voted by this Society, partly by Oxford subscriptions, from which latter the expenses at Carrawbrough (not here included) were defrayed. The total expended in Cumberland during the three years, 1894-6, has been £112 0s. 8d. of which the Oxford subscriptions have furnished £55 4s. 5d., and also £10 10s. 0d. towards the cost of illustrations for these Reports.

EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

The first meeting of the Society for 1896, *extending from Monday, June 22nd, to Saturday, June 27th, and consisted of*

A PILGRIMAGE ALONG THE ROMAN WALL

*In conjunction with the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.**

CONDUCTORS { in Cumberland, Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A.
in Northumberland, R. Blair, F.S.A.

THE pilgrims began to assemble in Carlisle early on Monday. The weather in the morning of that day did not look altogether promising; and when those who had joined in the pilgrimage of 1886 recollected that it took place in uninterrupted sunshine, they began to fear that they were going to have no such good fortune on the present occasion. Fortunately, however, the weather, on the first day at least, proved propitious, and the afternoon was one of brilliant sunshine.

Amongst those who took part in the pilgrimage were Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., and Miss Ferguson, Carlisle; Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Hodgson, Newby Grange; Mr. and Mrs. MacInnes, and the Misses MacInnes, Rickerby; Mr. T. Hodgkin, F.S.A., Bamborough Keep; Miss Johnston, the Beeches; Colonel Sewell, Brandling Ghyll; Professor Ad. de Ceuleneer, Ghent, Belgium; Mr. and Mrs. Welby, Sheffield; Mr. Bros, Mr. Norris, and Mr. Abell, London; Mr. W. Heward Bell, Seend, Wilts; Mr. T. V. Holmes, F.G.S.; Sir W. Crossman, K.C.M.G., Berwick; Mr. R. Blair (secretary Newcastle Society of Antiquaries); Rev. G. W. and Miss Reynolds, Elwick Hall, county Durham; Mrs. and Mrs. Macarthy, Mr. Ingledew, and Mr. S. S. Carr, Tynemouth; Mr. M. Phillips, Whitney; Dr. Baumgartner, Mr. Irving, Mr. W. H. Knowles, Mr. and Mrs. W. Tomlinson, Mr. M. Mackay, Newcastle; Mr. R. C. Clapham,

* For an account of the Pilgrimage of 1886 see these *Transactions*, Vol. ix., pp. 124-151. For that of 1849 see "A History of the Picts or Romano-British Wall." London: George Bell; Newcastle: Richardson; Carlisle: Thurnam, 1849, from the pen of Richard Abbatt, F.R.A.S.

Southdene

Southdene Tower, Gateshead; Mr. J. P. Gibson, Hexham; Mr. R. O. and Miss Heslop, Corbridge; Mr. W. L. Fletcher, Stoneleigh; Mr. W. G. Collingwood, Coniston; Mr. M. Hair, Carlisle; Miss M. Gibson, Whelprigg; Mr. Robert Bateman, Carlisle; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Simpson, Romanway; Mr. John E. Sealby, Thornthwaite; Mr. W. M. Townley, Grange; Mr. Ecroyd, Marton House; Mr. H. B. Lonsdale, Carlisle; Mr. Robert Wrigley, Brampton; Mrs. Jackson, Miss Beevor, Mr. Robert Crowder, and Mr. T. Wilson, Kendal, (secretary of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society). The local committee were Chancellor Ferguson, Mr. T. H. Hodgson, the Rev. A. Wright, and Mr. R. G. Graham (Beanlands Park).

The party spent Monday forenoon at Carlisle in visiting the Cathedral, the Castle, and the Museum at Tullie House, under the guidance of Chancellor Ferguson. At two o'clock they proceeded by the North British Railway to Kirkbride, where vehicles were in waiting to convey the party to Bowness. That place was reached shortly after three, and the pilgrims, having left the carriages, proceeded to the west end of the village, where, in the neighbourhood of the school-house, the Chancellor pointed out where the Roman Wall commenced. He gave a brief account of the main features of the Great Barrier, which, he said, consisted of (1) a stone Wall, with a ditch on its northern side; (2) a so called Vallum, south of the stone wall, but which has now been proved to be a great ditch, with the earth thrown out of it: and (3) Stations and Watch Towers. At the meeting of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society last year it was suggested that there was a fourth feature—namely a Turf Wall—but that, he thought, was not yet proved.* It must not, however, be supposed that the Wall was the only fortification which the Romans erected; for there were fortifications all along the coast, of which remains had been found at many places, such as Ellenborough, Moresby, and Ravenglass. There were, in fact, fortifications covering wherever a ship could ride at anchor. After inspecting the camp and church, and one or two other points of interest, the party re-entered the carriages and drove by Port Carlisle to Drumburgh, where the Roman camp was visited under the guidance of the Chancellor, who explained the point here in dispute, namely, whether the Wall went across or round Burgh Marsh. He suggested that, possibly, in some modified condition, it went across the Marsh, where a harbour may probably have existed in Roman times. Sir W. Crossman pointed

* *Ante*, pp. 185-191.

out

out that a camp probably existed at Bowstead Hill, which would guard the east end of the Burgh Marsh, just as Drumburgh did the west end.

The church of Burgh-by-Sands was the first stopping-place after crossing the Marsh: it stands within the area of one of the camps on the Wall.* The pilgrims next saw what was to be seen of the Roman remains at Beaumont and Kirkandrews-on-Eden. At Kirkandrews Rectory a much welcomed tea was supplied by the Rev. T. O. Sturkey and Mrs. Sturkey. Carlisle was reached about eight o'clock.

Tuesday morning proved very wet and stormy, and a start was not made by the pilgrims from the Great Central Hotel till about 10 o'clock. After crossing Eden Bridge the line of the Wall at Devonshire Banks, Stanwix, near Hyssop Holme Well, was pointed out, and the site of the station at Stanwix was also indicated, but the weather compelled the Chancellor to curtail his remarks, and to shorten the programme. The drive was then continued to Bleatarn, attention being drawn on the way to Drawdykes Castle and other features of interest. At Bleatarn most of the party got out of the conveyances and walked into the fields, the weather having by now taken up. In 1894 and 1895 some excavations were made at Bleatarn with a view to determining the relative age of the Wall and Vallum, but they were not productive of any definite results.† Reaching Irthington the party saw the Saxon mound at that place, and visited the church. At Castlesteads they were shown the "finds" which had been made in the station there, and while some of the party drove on to Walton a number walked through the fields and followed the line of the Wall and Vallum to Walton village. On the way to Lanercost about a dozen of the pilgrims got as far as Hare Hill and afterwards joined their companions at the Priory. Having examined this interesting Augustinian ruin, the party visited Naworth Castle, and then proceeded by train to Gilsland and thence in conveyances to the Shaws Hotel. Mr. Hodgson and others rendered good service during the day by assisting Chancellor Ferguson in explaining and describing features of interest.

On Wednesday morning the weather was fine, and the pilgrims having travelled by train to Naworth, drove to Hare Hill and then followed the line of the road to Birdoswald. At Hare Hill there is,

* At the church Chancellor Ferguson pointed out the entrance of the bone-hole—a stone with a round hole in it, about which several absurd conjectures have been made.

† These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., pp. 453, 462; and *Ante*, pp. 185, 186, 191.

as

as readers of Dr. Bruce's book are aware, "a fragment of the Wall which stands nine feet ten inches high. It is, however, divested of its facing-stones. Hutton, speaking of the Wall here, says: 'I viewed this relic with admiration. I saw no part higher.'" The pilgrims found that the facing-stones of the relic had been "restored," and the story was told that some years ago one of Lord Carlisle's officials took them away, thinking that they might be useful for building purposes, but put them back again in obedience to orders from his employer, who was not at all pleased with the interference which had been made with this precious bit of the remains of the Wall. Leaving Hare Hill the party drove to Coombe Crag, and examined with much interest the inscriptions which the Roman quarrymen had made upon the rocks. At Appletree, the next stopping place, the party stood upon the Turf Wall and discussed the question whether it was anterior or subsequent to the building of the Wall. This turf or sod Wall is an exceptional feature of the Roman remains, and was only discovered last year. Mr. Bates, the historian of Northumberland, had curiously enough, a short time before the discovery was made, expressed the opinion that such a Wall existed. Sections were cut through the ground to a point south of the Vallum in 1895, and Mr. Haverfield, who conducted the operations, has made a report giving the results.* Briefly,—it was found that at Appletree between the Wall and the Vallum a Turf Wall had been built. The suggestion is that the Turf Wall ran from sea to sea, but was destroyed to make way for the Stone Wall. Sir William Crossman was asked by a number of his fellow pilgrims to state his opinion upon the question of date, and he said that he thought the sod Wall must have been a second or reinforcing line of defence. It was clear to him, looking to the fact that the Stone Wall was overlooked by a hill close to the north of it, that here was the very weakest point of the Great Barrier, and it was natural that the Romans should have strengthened the position by the erection of a second line of defence such as this Turf Wall seemed to be. There was a trace of a double ditch to the Stone Wall, and if they went into the other field they would notice it. His opinion was, subject to further discoveries, that this Turf Wall was an exceptional means of defence, nothing like it occurring elsewhere. The next stage of the journey was the well-known camp at Birdoswald, which was examined under the guidance of the Rev. A. Wright. It was now getting towards one o'clock, the hour fixed for luncheon at the Shaws Hotel, but the fine air of the district had

* *Ante*, pp. 185-191.

whetted

whetted the appetite, and many were glad to avail themselves of the opportunity which was afforded them of temporarily satisfying the cravings of hunger with a glass of milk from the clean, cool, dairy.

After luncheon at the Shaws Hotel, the conveyances were re-entered and the party drove to Gilsland Vicarage where they were received by the Rev. A. Wright, who had been of useful service to the pilgrims during the journey from Hare Hill. On reaching the Vicarage, however, a heavy rain set in, which had the effect of making the pilgrims cry "halt" for a time. In the Vicarage garden an interesting bit of the Wall exists, and Mr. Wright has some relics of the Roman time which people visiting the Wall are always welcome to see. A good programme had been arranged for the afternoon, but a fearful storm of rain prevented it from being carried out, except by two or three reckless and athletic individuals. Some of the party returned early to the Shaws Hotel; others took refuge at Greathead.

At the Poltross Burn the duties of the Chancellor, as conductor, ceased, and devolved upon Mr. Blair, under whose guidance the rest of the programme was carried out, and in fine weather.

In Cumberland the line of the STONE WALL was marked by red flags: of the VALLUM by yellow: Roman roads by white flags, and Roman camps by red and white flags.

WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH AND 17TH, 1896.

The second two days' excursion of this Society, 1896, took place on Wednesday and Thursday, September 16th and 17, the members meeting at noon on the former day, at the Waterhead Hotel, Coniston. There were present Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., Carlisle, president; the Rev. R. B. Billinge, Urswick; Mr. W. G. Collingwood and Mrs. Collingwood, Coniston; Mr. Gillings, Broughton-in-Furness; Mr. S. L. Petty and Mrs. Petty, Ulverston; Miss Gough and friend, Mealsgate; Mr. John Rawlinson Ford, Leeds; Mr. Mr. Stephen A. Marshall, Skelwith; Mr. Cedric Vaughan and the Misses Vaughan, Millom; the Rev. F. A. Malleson, Broughton-in Furness; Mr. G. B. Postlethwaite, Westminster; Mr. G. B. Simpson and Mrs. Simpson, Roman Way; Mr. J. Simpson-Yates, Penrith; Mr. W. H. R. Kerry and Mrs. Kerry, Windermere; Mr. Joseph Cartmell, C.E., Brigham; Mr. W. G. M. Townley, Grange-over-Sands; Mr. J. H. Nicholson, Wilmslow; Mrs. Poynting; the Bishop of Barrow, Mrs. Ware, and party; Mr. T. Barlow-Massicks; Mr. George Watson, Penrith; Mr. J. Wrigley and Mrs. Wrigley, Seascale

scale; Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, Barrow; Mr. Richard Carruthers, Carlisle; Mr. W. L. Fletcher, Stoneleigh; Mr. A. Severn, Miss Severn, Mr. A. Severn, jun.; Mr. T. Wilson, secretary, Kendal; and others.

Coniston Hall.

Owing to recent heavy rains the proposed visit to Hummer Bridge for the inspection of pre-historic earthworks at Bleaberry Haws had to be deferred, the long wet grass making it impossible. The route was therefore changed, and Coniston Hall was the first stop in the journey. Here Mr. W. G. Collingwood read a paper on the Hall, written by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., and printed in these *Transactions*, volume ix., p. 439.

Torver Church and the Cranmer Documents.

The next point of call was Torver Church, where the members of the Society were met and welcomed by the rector, the Rev. T. Ellwood, M.A., who in a paper read in the church, said that the manor of Torver belonged formerly to the abbot and monks of Furness. It changed hands several times and in 1738 it was purchased, together with the manor of Ulverston, by the Duke of Montague, and from him it descended by marriage to the Duke of Buccleuch. Now it belongs to the Crown. Originally Torver was a chapelry dependent upon the Church of Ulverston, and was probably served by a reader. In 1538 a faculty for the burial of the dead was granted by Archbishop Cranmer.* There have been three churches on the site of the present church, the last having been consecrated as St. Luke's Church by the late Bishop of Carlisle. The following is a list of incumbents for two centuries back, with dates of preferment: Edwd. Walker 1688, Andrew Naughtley, 1707, John Stoup 1709, Thomas Poole 1716, John Hall, 1718, Robert Walker (the Wonderful Walker) 1734, John Hastwell 1736, Robert Bell 1740, Matthew Inman Carter 1807, and Thomas Ellwood 1861. The Rector pointed out that he and his two predecessors had held the living of Coniston 156 years.

Carriages were then resumed to Sunny Bank; here the members

* A question was asked as to how it was that Archbishop Cranmer should grant a faculty for the right of burial at Torver, which was in the province of York. The Rector replied that in the province of York faculties were always issued from Canterbury, and this was so still. Special licenses for marriages, dispensations to hold livings in plurality, &c., all came from the Archbishop of Canterbury, through the Master of Faculties. These faculties and dispensations were a relic of papal power, and King Henry VIII. transferred this power from the Pope to the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Stat. 25 Hen. 8, c. 21.)

embarked

embarked in boats for Peel Island, where interesting excavation work has recently been conducted. Mr. Collingwood, who has had this work on hand, pointed out the foundations of rough walling and chambers partly cut in the rock, which seemed to indicate dwellings and fortifications of a rude type. At the evening meeting he exhibited a model of the island, showing plan of remains and position of the quarries from which the stone had been got for building: together with iron nails and rivets, fragments of pottery, apparently early mediæval, part of the lip of a freestone mortar, slabs of worked millstone grit, and specimens of the light, porous, purple slag found on the island, Authorities in the neighbourhood were divided on the nature of this slag, which did not resemble any produced in modern smelting works or ancient bloomeries.

The members were conveyed by the steam Gondola up the lake, after their inspection of Peel Island, and on the way the sites of four old bloomeries were pointed out on the west side of the lake. Dinner was at the Waterhead Hotel, Coniston. At a later hour the annual business meeting of the Society was held, when Chancellor Ferguson was re-elected president; Mr. T. Wilson, secretary; and Mr. W. C. Crewdson, treasurer. Mr. John Fell was elected a vice-president of the Council. The Council was re-elected, with the additions of Mr. W. G. Collingwood, representing Coniston district; Colonel Sewell, representing Mid-Cumberland; and Mr. Joseph Swainson, representing the Kendal district, who fill vacancies caused by retirement. Mr. Joseph Simpson, of Roman Way, was elected an auditor, in the place of Mr. Frank Wilson, who has left the district. The following new members were elected:—John Cock, Allerdale House, Cockermouth; the Rev. F. A. Malleson, Broughton-in-Furness; George B. Postlethwaite, Holly Brake, Chislehurst; David Burns, Stanwix, Carlisle; Asher and Co., Covent Garden, London; the Rev. J. Cropper, Seaton; the Rev. Canon Trench, Kendal; the Rev. W. S. Sykes, Millom; Dr. John Kendall, Coniston.

Subsequently, the Rev. T. Ellwood read a paper on "High Furness, its bloomeries, and forges."* This was followed by papers on "The Old Duddon Furnace," by Mr. T. Barlow-Massicks; and a paper on "Pre-historic Remains in Furness," by Mr. Harper Gaythorpe. Both these papers will appear in these *Transactions*.

Broughton-in-Furness.

The members left Coniston on Thursday morning for Broughton,

* Printed in these *Transactions*, Vol. viii., pp. 85-92.

and

and conveyances were taken to the Stone Circle at Swinside, the journey being performed in a perfect deluge of rain.

The Secretary (Mr. T. Wilson) read extracts from a paper on "A Group of Cumberland Megaliths," submitted by Mr. C. W. Dymond, M.I.C.E., F.S.A.,* to the Society, at Workington, in June, 1880, from which it appeared that the number of stones remaining in the Circle at Swinside is 55, of which 32 are still standing, but many have fallen inwards. One of the stones has been rent by a rowan tree, but this, it is noticed, is now dead. The original Circle was a perfect one, and is 92 feet in diameter. Tradition says that at one time there was a stone in the centre of the Circle, but of this there is no trace, and the "oldest inhabitant" can give no information on the subject.

Subsequently Broughton Tower was visited, where a paper on the building was read by Mr. J. Fell, and a paper on Broughton Church by the Vicar, the Rev. F. A. Malleson. A flying visit was paid to the Church to inspect a piece of walling, said locally to be Anglo-Saxon, but which presents none of the characteristics of that work. The party left Broughton at 5 p.m. by trains in both directions, after an interesting two days' excursion, although Thursday's experience of weather will not soon be forgotten.

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* Printed in these *Transactions*, Vol. v., pp. 47-50.

ART. XXIII.—*Pre-historic Implements in Furness.* By HARPER GAYTHORPE, of Barrow-in-Furness.

Read at Coniston, September 16th, 1896.

BEFORE proceeding with the description of the implements I exhibit to-night, I may say that the earliest notice I have found relating to an implement of the Bronze Age in Furness is that of the "brass instrument or celt found in the ruins of Gleaston Castle," which was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries on May 23rd, 1776.* This celt was 9 inches long, ½ inch thick in the middle, one end like a common hatchet with a sharp edge 5 inches broad, tapering to the other end, which was not above 1½ broad, also formed with a sharp edge. It was finely polished, covered with a beautiful patina, and weighed 2lb. 5oz.† It belongs to the class called by Sir John Evans flat celts. I briefly enumerate four implements of the Neolithic Age, and two implements of the Bronze Age, as follows:—No. 1, perforated stone axe-hammer, found near Barrow Central Station, 1886. No. 2, perforated stone axe-hammer, found near Stainton, 1882. No. 3, perforated stone hammer, brought from Rampside about 1876. No. 4, stone celt, found at Haltcliff, Cumberland, about 1834-5. No. 5, bronze celt, found at Castle Sowerby, Caldbeck, Cumberland, about 1780. No. 6, bronze celt, found at Mossfield, Roose, near Barrow, 1872. No. 1.—This perforated stone axe-hammer of porphyritic lava was discovered in October, 1886, five feet below the surface, at a point 80 yards

* Engraved in *Archæologia*, Vol. v., p. 106, Pl. VII. It is now the property of Victor C. W. Cavendish, Esq., M.P., Holker Hall, Cark-in-Cartmel.

† These are the figures as given in *Archæologia*: the length is only 8¾ inches, while the weight is 2lb. 5¼oz.

north

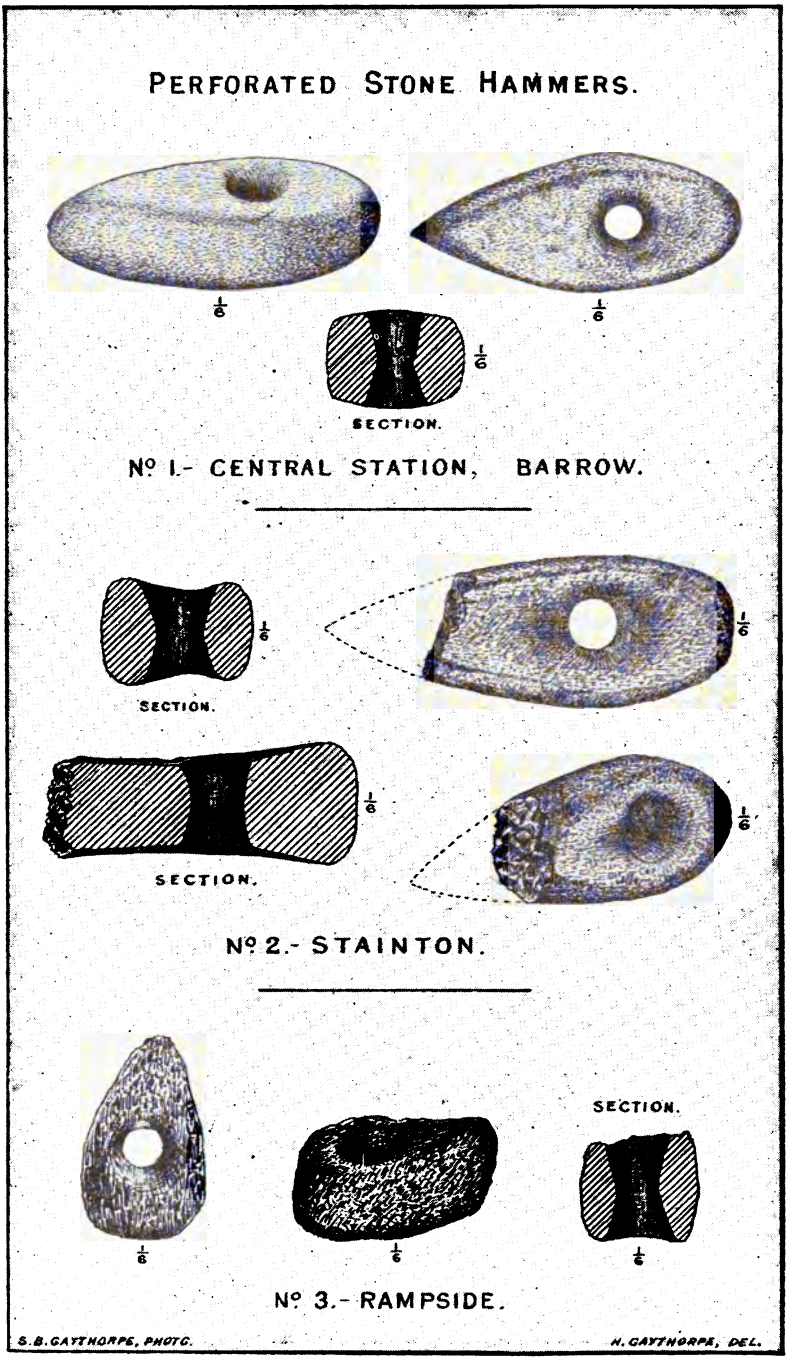

PLATE I.—STONE HAMMERS.

north of the Barrow Central Station, in a gravel bed resting on upper boulder clay, and therefore dating from the post glacial period. It is beautifully smooth all over the surface, and is now perfect, excepting a small flake at the axe end, and three marks apparently made by a pick, one at the axe end, and one on either side of the perforation. Inside the latter there is a hollow, suggestive of the stone having been perforated from both sides, as the hole is slightly askew, but perfectly smooth. This specimen is of a greenish grey colour, with minute specks of white quartz all over the surface. The axe end is sharpened to an angle of 60 degrees at the point, tapering to an angle of 45 degrees towards the widest part of the stone, the hammer end forming a segment of a circle about 2 inches in diameter, and the axe end a circle of 2½ inches. Its length over all is 10¼ inches, width 4¼ inches, thickness 3 inches. The hole is 1⅞ inch in diameter on the surface on one side, and 2 inches on the other—the top side, and tapers towards the centre, where it is 1 3-16ths of an inch in diameter the broad way of the stone, and 1 1-6th of an inch the long way. It weighs 7lbs., and is now in the possession of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club. No. 2.—This perforated stone axe-hammer was found about 1882, whilst repairing an old occupation road called Slop Lane, about one mile from Stainton. It is a very hard, dark, greenish-grey stone of porphyritic lava, (Andesyte), and where broken shows patches of light grey, black, and reddish-brown or bronze-coloured spots, and a few dark-coloured shining specks, possibly of magnetic iron. The stone has in the course of time acquired a scale 1-24th of an inch thick of a drab or stone colour, worn and pitted. A specimen of rock exactly identical with that of which this axe-hammer is composed, now in the Geological Museum, Jermyn Street, London, came from near Bootle, Cumberland. The top and bottom surfaces have been hollowed gradually from the sides and

hammer

hammer ends to a $\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep in the centre. The hole is almost cylindrical, smooth inside and partly polished, 1 11-16ths of an inch in diameter the long way of the stone, and 1 9-16ths of an inch in diameter the broad way, and appears to have been perforated from top and bottom. It is now 9 inches long, and when entire has been about 12 inches. It is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches thick at the broken end, and $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches at the hammer end. Its weight is 9lb. 11oz. The present owner is Mr. Thomas Lawrence, of Flookburgh, Cark-in-Cartmel. Porphyritic lava very similar to that just referred to is now worked at Greenscoe Quarries, near High Haume, Ireleth. Mr. C. Jopling, in his "Sketch of Furness and Cartmel," refers to 20 celts or stone hammers being found upon what appeared to be the foundations of an old building near High Haume, in various stages of completion, some only in form, and others finely polished, showing that here was probably a factory for making these implements. The celt found at Roosebeck, and figured in Richardson's "Furness, Past and Present," has also been made from a similar kind of stone. No. 3.—This perforated stone hammer of sandstone was brought from the Clarke's Arms, Rampside, about 1876. It is of a brown colour, with dark chocolate-coloured stains, and light grey patches where recently chipped. All over the surface are small specks of mica, and to all appearance the sandstone geologically belongs to the carboniferous series. The perforation has been made from both top and bottom, and in the inside near the top, the circular ring marks, showing the method of grinding out the hole, are plainly visible. The hole having recently been used as a receptacle for putty, the oil therefrom has soaked through the stone, causing it to be darker coloured. The stone is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches wide, 3 inches thick at the hammer end, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the pointed end, and weighs 4lbs. 1oz. The hole tapers from the surface, being 2 inches in diameter on one side—

the

the lower—and 2⅛ inches on the other side, the diameter inside being 1¾ inches the broad way, and 1 9-16ths of an inch the long way of the stone. It is now in the possession of Mr. W. R. Ormandy, of Barrow. In these hammers, none of the perforations are exactly round, two of them being slightly less in diameter the broad way of the stone, and in the sandstone hammer additional strength is gained by its being made much wider in proportion to the length. These implements are all of the same type, and differ very much from the stone celts commonly found in Cumberland and Westmorland. They were hafted like modern hammers, while the celt required a socketed handle, into which it was set axe-wise, and not like an adze. No. 4.—The next specimen is a stone celt dug up at Haltcliff, in the Parish of Caldbeck, Cumberland, in the year 1834-5, in cutting through a meadow, the site of ancient dwellings. The stone is buff or cream-coloured, with brownish patches, and is evidently of volcanic origin, "the most unusual feature being the peculiar finish along the edges of the stone," these having being apparently either worn or ground away from a sharp edge to a width a little over ⅛ of an inch. It has been described as "Soap Stone," and the softness of the surface may be due to weathering. It is 5½ inches long, 2 7-16ths of an inch wide at one end where it is sharpened, 1½ inch at the narrower end, and 1 5-16ths of an inch thick. The present owner is Mr. J. Alston, of Barrow. Both classes of stone implements were used as axes. The difference in type may probably be accounted for by supposing that stone of a character suitable for the manufacture of celts could not readily be obtained by the men of Low Furness, and they, therefore, adopted the clumsier axe-hammer type. It is unlikely that these implements were habitually used as hammers, for in the absence of metals there could be few uses to which they were adapted that would not be better performed by a wooden mallet or a heavy

heavy maul. No. 5.—This bronze celt was found in a cave on the edge of the river Gilcoman, in the parish of Castle Sowerby, Caldbeck, Cumberland, about 1780, and others were reported to have been found there. It is of a later type than another specimen which I shall exhibit. The flanges are continuous throughout the stem, and the "cable" or hammer marks on the flanges are plainly shown. The celt is 5 9-16ths of an inch long, 3 5-16ths of an inch across at the widest part, and 15-16ths of an inch at the bottom of the stem; and 9-16ths of an inch thick across the centre of a section, the cutting edges being quite sharp. Its weight is 15ozs. The patina has been partly removed, but where it remains it is polished, and of a chocolate colour. Across the centre of the stem, on both sides, the metal is raised, and there is a slight hollow about $\frac{1}{8}$th of an inch wide on either side of the raised part; evidently made in the same way as the cable marks after the celt was cast, thus forming a stop ridge when fixed in a handle. The present owner is Mr. J. Alston, of Barrow. No. 6.—This bronze celt was found at a depth of 12 or 13 inches below the grass surface of a meadow, when digging the foundations for houses at Mossfield, Roose, in 1872. The ground in the neighbourhood is boggy, as its place-name denotes. The celt is $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches long, 2 5-16ths of an inch wide across the widest part, 11-16ths of an inch wide at the bottom of the stem, and at the central portion of the stem it is half-an-inch thick, as shown in the cross-section. This is the thickest portion of the celt, and from there it tapers gradually to the edges. It weighs $5\frac{3}{4}$ozs., and is quite smooth all over the surface. No hammer marks are visible, nor has the patina been removed. The latter is of a brown colour, and shades to an orange tint inside the flanges. The rudimentary flanges of this celt project much further outwards in the lower half of the stem, but it is of an earlier type, and similar to the description in

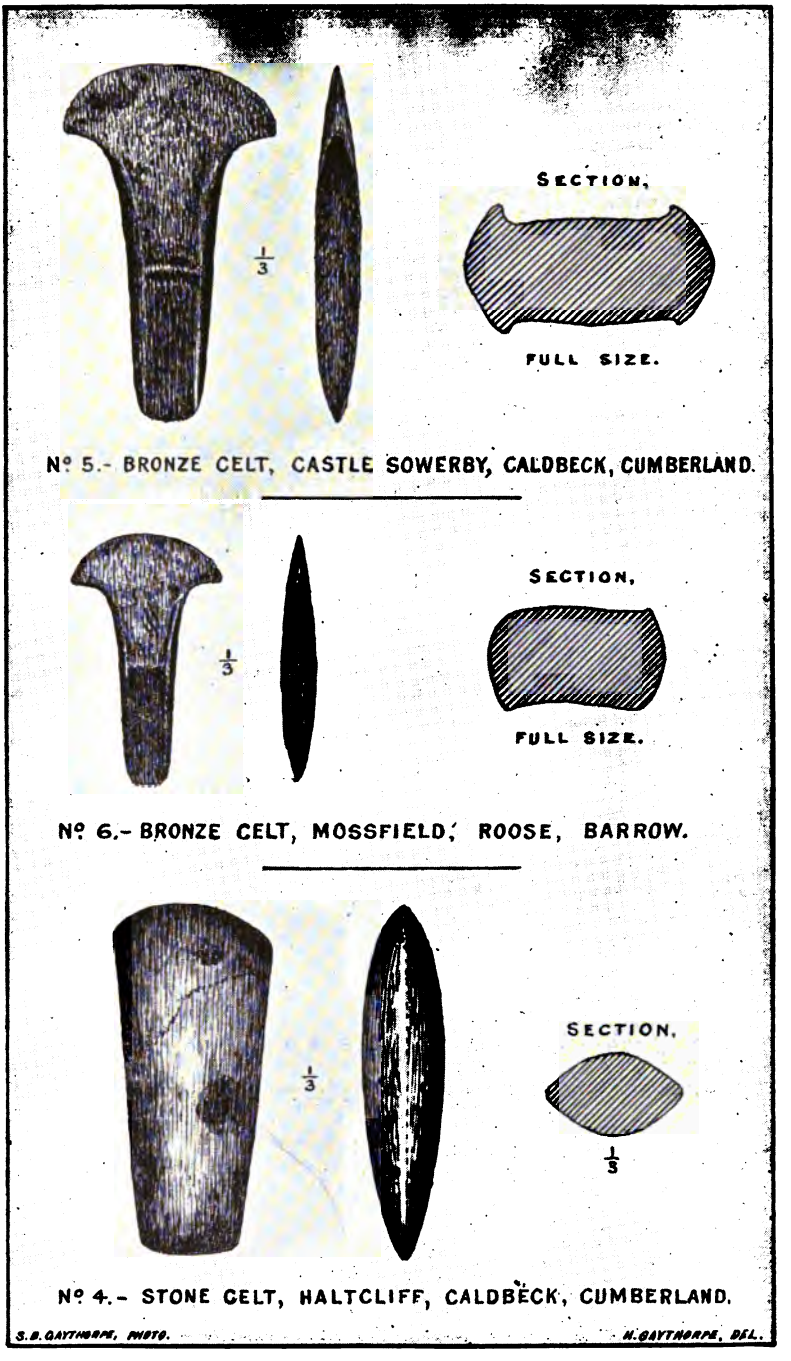

PLATE II.—BRONZE IMPLEMENTS.

in Sir John Evans' "Ancient Bronze Implements," page 43, lines 3 to 8, and page 46, figure 5. At a point 1 inch from the bottom of the stem, the flanges project 5-48ths of an inch. The cutting edge is quite sharp, and so also is the edge at the narrower end, where it is now bent over about 1-16th of an inch, possibly through a fall. The present owner is Mr. Joseph Waddington, Mossfield, Roose, Barrow. In conclusion, I may say that there is, indeed, a very wide field still open for investigation and exploration in Furness. At the present time I have a list of other implements which have not yet been noticed, and I hope in due course to bring it forward. In the meantime, I have the honour to lay before you for inspection some other implements not referred to in this paper, which have been kindly lent to me, and also a number of photographs taken by my son, Sidney B. Gaythorpe. I hope that this effort may prove of interest, and stimulate others in the same field of archæological research.

ART. XXIV.—*The Old Blast Furnace at Duddon Bridge.* By THOMAS BARLOW-MASSICKS.

Read at Coniston, September 16th, 1896.

OF the many tourists who now visit the beautiful Duddon Valley, but few of them are aware that ruins of Ironworks of a most interesting character exist at Duddon Bridge, on the Cumberland side of Wordsworth's "cerulean Duddon." Here in a secluded corner, hid by vast overhanging woods, a blast furnace was built early in the seventeenth century by an ironmaster named Jackson, who also had works of a similar kind in Scotland. The obvious reason for selecting such a position was the abundance of charcoal produced from the extensive coppice woods around it, and also to take advantage of the water power of the Duddon, by which the primitive "blowing" machinery was driven.

Bearing in mind that the objects of this Society are far removed from such mundane operations as iron-making, I will exclude from this paper but the merest technical details, but I must observe that as between the "Bloomeries," to which our attention is directed at this meeting, and the modern blast furnace of to-day, the old furnace at Duddon Bridge is one of the most interesting connecting links extant.

The works consist of one blast furnace, 28 feet 6 inches high from the charging floor to the hearth. The diameter is 2 feet 6 inches at the top, 9 feet at the bosh,* and I should estimate the diameter of the hearth at 3 feet. The furnace was, of course, lined with fire brick, but the struc-

* "Bosh, boshes." According to Kennett MS. Lansd. 1033, "the bottom of the furnace in which they melt their iron ore, the sides of which furnace descend obliquely like the hopper of a mill." Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic Words.

ture

ture itself, square in outward shape, is built, as are all the other buildings, of the rough, strong, native rock. The charcoal store-houses are by far the most extensive part of the works, as the quantity of charcoal made in any single year was insufficient to carry on the smelting operation regularly, and the furnace had periodically to remain idle until a sufficient supply was stored in these large buildings.

In 1790 a lease was granted by John Cookson-Gilpin Sawrey, of Broughton Tower, to Joseph Latham, of Goatfield, in Argyllshire, and Richard Latham, of Broughton-in-Furness, ironmasters, empowering them to make a weir across the river Duddon, but as the works had been carried on long before that date, water power from the Duddon must have been somehow obtained. Late in the last, or early in the present century, the Duddon furnace was acquired and worked by Messrs. Harrison, Ainslie, and Co., and by them carried on until about 1866, or perhaps a little later, since which time it has fallen into disuse. The hematite iron produced was "cold blast" of the highest quality—ranking with Swedish iron.

I exhibit at this meeting a "pig" of this iron, branded D 1781, found by me at Borwick Rails, Millom, in 1866, doing duty as a lintel or bearer for an overhanging chimney stack on an old farm-house there. The iron made at the Duddon furnace was shipped at Borwick Rails harbour, which will account for this stray "pig" of iron. It may be observed that the ancient Millom harbour of Borwick Rails is again at the present day the place of export for the millions of tons of ore from the Hodbarrow mines, and the pig iron from the Millom blast furnaces.

ART. XXV.—*Some Notes on the Manors of Mansergh and Rigmaden, formerly in the Parish of Kirkby Lonsdale.* By EDWARD CONDER, Jun., F.S.A.

THE township of Mansergh, formerly in the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale, but since 1888, a separate ecclesiastical parish, lies three miles to the north of Kirkby Lonsdale. It is bounded on the north, west, and south by the townships of Killington, Lupton, and Kirkby Lonsdale respectively.

At the Doomsday survey, Mansergh, or Manzsergh as it was then written, was included in that portion of Yorkshire known as Agemundreness (Amounderness). It was one of twelve manors held in this district during the reign of Edward the Confessor, by Torfin, a Saxon Thegen.

In Nicolson and Burn's "History of Westmorland," we are told that traditionally Mansergh and Barbon were once one Manor,* but I cannot find any evidence to corroborate this statement. At the time of the survey they were certainly separate, as Barbon or Berebrune, was held by Tosti, Earl of Northumberland.

Mansergh being included in the Barony of Kendal, its early "lords" will be found in the general history of that barony. It is of course probable that from the first it was a Mesne Manor, and held under the chief lord by some Norman family, possibly the one which afterwards bore the surname of de Mansergh, and flourished there for some centuries. At the division of the barony, by the failure of the heir male of Gilbert Fitz Reinfrid and Helwise de Lancaster his wife, Mansergh appears to have been divided into two manors known as Mansergh and

* Nicolson and Burn, Vol. i., p. 251.

Pedigree of Godsalve of

WILLIAM GODSALVE = MARGAR
of Borwick in Co. Lanc. ætat 72 18 martij ao 1664. | da. of W of Borwic Lanc.

THOS. GODSALVE = SUSANNA
of Rigmaden in Co. Westmerd æt. 42 anno 20 martij ao. 1664. A merchant at Amsterdam. Interred Jan. 7, 1694, at Kirkby Lonsdale. | dau. of Thomas Cartmell of Farlton. Interred at Kirkby Lonsdale, July 4, 1718.

THOMAS GODSALVE = ANNIE HUSBAND
of Rigmaden. bap. 1669. mar. Feb. 4, 1705. bur. May 20, 1750. | dau. of Tempest Husband of Ky. Lonsdale, by Margt. niece of Simon Battersby of Biggins, bur. at Ky. Lonsdale, 30 Mar. 1765. [The Husbands were a cadet branch of the Husbands of Bentham Hall, Yorks.]

Another d. mar. to Abraham Rawlinson of Lancaster.

SUSANNAH = HUGH ASHTON
b. Feb. 16, 1706, mar. 1726, d. at Kirfitt Hall, Sep 1731. | of Croston Lanes—a branch of Ashton of Ashton. In 1730 he purchased "Near Underley" in the parish of Ky. Lonsdale. | bap. mar. bur. dale,

JOHN WILSON ROBINSON = MARGARET MAWDESLEY
of Maryport. Mayor of Kendal 1757. | b. at Kirfitt Hall, bap. Aug. 3, 1735, d. at Beckhead, Feb. 12, 1812. Sold Rigmaden to Mr. Satterthwaite of Lancaster, Oct. 28, 1784.

ROBERT GOD
b. at Kirfitt H bur. Jan. 7, 1

MARY ROBINSON = HENRY BAINBRIDGE, M.D.
b. Jan. 1, 1761, bur. at Maryport. | of Sedbergh, d. Dec. 25, 1816, æt. 53, bur. at Kirkby Lonsdale.

GODSALVE THOS. ROBINSON
b. Apl. 3, 1757, bap. at Kendal. Lost at sea.

WILSON R
b. at Ken 1759, d. y

GODSALVE MAWDESLEY BAINBRIDGE
obt. inf.

MARGARET BAINBRIDGE
d. Aug. 28, 1817. Oct. 29, bur. at Kirkby Lonsdale.

dau. of Cro

of Rign

William Sander
in Co.

WILLIAM GOD
n. Isabell da.
George Tounsc
Highfield, Co.

SUSANNAH
bap. 1666,
mar. 1686
Edw: Tong.

MARGARET=
Feb. 27, 1708.
Oct. 24, 1732.
t Ky. Lons-
Feb. 27, 1781.

GONSALVE MAWDE
Hall, bap. July 2
135.

DBINSON M
al Oct. 2, m
ng. d

Reginald R
Trees, Mellir

Rigmaden. The former falling to the share of Helwise, elder daughter of Gilbert Fitz Reinfrid, wife to Peter de Brus. Eventually at the sub-division of her moiety it became part of the Marquis fee.

The latter, which formed part of the other moiety of the barony, passed by marriage of Alice, the younger daughter of Gilbert Fitz Reinfrid, to the de Lindesays, and from them on failure of heir male, to the de Coucys of France, ultimately it became merged into the Richmond fee.

We find the township of Mansergh is therefore partly in the Marquis fee and partly in the Richmond. Evidence of this is furnished by a list, temp. Elizabeth, of the several manors belonging to the Marquis and Richmond fees to be found in the Rawlinson MSS. at Oxford.*

Taking the manor of Mansergh first, the inquisitions post-mortem for the 31 Edward I. shew that in 1303, Roger de Burton held "terr and ten" in Mansergh, Lupton, and other manors within the Marquis fee. It is probable that the de Manserghs, if then in possession of the manor, held the same of Roger de Burton who in turn held it, with his other estates, of the chief lord, William de Roos, who inherited his mother's moiety of the barony.

Unfortunately the inquisitions post-mortem are singularly silent with regard to the manor of Mansergh, and we can only conclude that the family of de Mansergh continued to flourish there uninterruptedly.

In the feet of fines, 12, Edward II., the name of Thomas de Mansergh is found in connection with Mansergh and Barbon. In 1383, John de Mansergh was chosen Knight of the shire, evidence of their being a family of consideration.

There is, however, little else to be found respecting them until the time of Elizabeth, when, by an inquisition held at Appleby Castle in 1591, after the death of Chris-

* Rawlinson MSS., 437, Fo. 251.

topher

topher Mansergh, who had died in 1568, it appears he held in Mansergh, his capital messuage (Mansergh Hall), and other lands by fealty and the service of six broad arrows yearly (*Sex Sagittarum furcarum*). That he was not then the lord of the manor of Mansergh is proved by the Feet of Fines, 3, Edward VI., where it is shewn that the manor proper was in the hands of the Stanley family, and previously in the family of de Rigmaden or Rygmaden. This family were not, however, the owners of Rigmaden Manor, as will be shewn. [There is, in the absence of documentary evidence, much to be cleared up respecting this family with respect to the manor of Mansergh.]

From the Stanleys the manor or lordship of Mansergh passed to the Redmayne family of Thornton in Yorkshire,* a cadet branch of the Redmaynes of Levens.† From evidence supplied by the Feet of Fines, and from documents preserved with the Conder family papers at Terry Bank, a small freehold estate still in possession of the writer's family, it appears that Marmaduke Redmayne allowed several of his tenants who held their land by tenant-right to become freeholders by selling to them the fee simple of their estates. By a deed dated 16th March, 1584, the fee simple of Terry Bank was obtained by the payment of fifteen pounds to Marmaduke Redmayne.‡

In 1612, Edward Conder, of Terry Bank, purchased a parcel of ground in Mansergh from one Richard Moore, who held it by a small quit rent from Robert Wilson.

By evidence found in the Conder documents, Henry Wilson had purchased in 1579, 16 acres of pasture from William Mansergh and Jane his wife, and doubtless held

* Conder family papers, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

† This branch of the Redmayne family were settled at Thornton in the early part of the fifteenth century, if not before. From the Banco Rolls for Hilary Terms, 6th, Edward III., we learn that in A.D. 1430, Thomas de Redmane, Esquire, of Thornton, sued William Mansergh, of Mansergh, gentleman, and Thomas Mansergh, of Mansergh, with others, for a debt of 40s.

‡ Conder family papers, No. 5 (B).

the

the same in fee simple. By the conveyance of a portion of this property to Edward Conder in 1612, Robert Wilson appears to have assumed the position of "lord of the fee," as a small annual quit rent was to be paid him, also a fine of two shillings on the death or alienation of the said Robert Wilson or Edward Conder, &c., &c. This is a curious instance of the sub-division of the rights of a chief lord or owner.

In 1588 Marmaduke Redmayne parted with the manor of Mansergh to Henry Brabyn for two hundred and sixty marks.

Extracts from the Feet of Fines, Lay subsidy rolls and the Court of Wards and Liveries, shew that the manor of Mansergh became broken up into several small freeholds, and considerable difficulty was frequently experienced on the death of the freeholder, his heirs not being sure if the Crown could claim a "relief" or not. In the case of Edward Conder,of Terry Bank, who died in 1617, his widow, Alice Conder, was advised to file a "bill" † in the Court of Wards and Liveries to try the point, and if wardship were claimed, to compound for it, her son Edward not being of age. Although the records of this court have been searched, the result of her application cannot be found; the manor of Mansergh having become so broken up it was not until after the purchase of Rigmaden manor by a Mr. Thomas Godsalve in 1661, that all rights and privileges connected with Mansergh again became united, and with Rigmaden, ultimately formed the new manor of Mansergh, Mr. Godsalve having subsequently bought up the land held by the Brabyn family and some other freeholders in Mansergh. Upon holding his first Court Baron in 1664, he appears as lord of the manor of Mansergh [Rigmaden being understood to be included.]

† Conder papers, No. 15.

With

With regard to Rigmaden, it has already been shewn that at an early date it was a separate Manor, and held of the Richmond fee. From the inquisitions post-mortem for 18, Edward III. after the death of Thomas Ward, of Kendale, it appears that the said Thomas held jointly with Maud his wife, the manor of Rigmaden as of the lands of William de Coucy by homage, fealty, and the service of one barbed arrow yearly at Whitsuntide. The manor, at the death of Maud, widow of Thomas Ward, passed to their son, Adam Ward; and afterwards continued in the Ward family until 1661, when Thomas Godsalve, merchant of Amsterdam, purchased the property from Henry Ward, subject to the approval of Henry Ward the younger, and Thomas Ward, brother to Henry Ward, senior. On the death of Thomas Godsalve in 1696, the joint manors of Mansergh and Rigmaden passed to his son, Thomas Godsalve, of Rigmaden, gentleman, at whose death in 1750 they were inherited by Margaret his daughter, wife of the Rev. Thomas Mawdesley, of Mawdesley Hall, Croston, Co. Lancashire. At her death in 1781, the manor passed to her two daughters, Margaret, wife of John Wilson Robinson, of Maryport,* and Ann, wife of John Wilkinson, of Lindale, Co. Lancashire. In 1784 Mrs. Margaret Robinson, in conjunction with Mary Wilkinson, her niece, sold the joint manors of Mansergh and Rigmaden to Mr. John Satterthwait, of Lancaster, in whose family they remained until 1821, when they were sold by Charles Satterthwait to Christopher Wilson, Esq., of Kendal, together with 1,300 acres of common, quit rents valued at £5 18s. 2½d., and fines on death or alienation of lords or tenant, equal to fifteen times the annual rent. The manors are now in the possession of Christopher Wyndham Wilson, Esq., his grandson, by whose kindness I have been able to copy the par-

* Mayor of Kendal, 1757.

ticulars

ticulars of the Court Baron held in 1664, given in Appendix* to this paper.

I am also indebted to Miss Margaret Gibson, of Whelprigg, Barbon, a descendant of the Godsalve family through Mrs. Margaret Gibson, grand-daughter of Margaret, wife of the Rev. Thomas Mawdesley, for the pedigree of Godsalve and other notes concerning that family. At Whelprigg are preserved portraits of Thomas Godsalve, who purchased Rigmaden in 1661; Thomas Godsalve, his son; Margaret Mawdesley, his grand-daugter; also portraits of Mr. John Wilson Robinson and Margaret his wife.

The muniments at Whelprigg also include many interesting documents relating to Mansergh during the time the manor was in the hands of the Godsalve family.

APPENDIX A.

Extracts from the Manor Book.†

MANERIUM de MANSERGH } A Verdict of the Jury of the said Manor or Lordship of Mansergh agreed upon and presented in the year of our Lord God 1664 as followeth:

	s.	d.
That none within the Lordship make any Rescue upon pain or forfeit to the Lord of the Manor	3	4
That none make any affray within the same on pain of	6	8
That none make any Hubbleshaw‡ within the same on pain of	3	4
That none cut down his lords chief woods except it be for building, or plows, harrows or other necessaries on pain of	3	4
That none break the lord's pinfold § on pain of	6	8

* Appendix, A.

† The manor book is a folio of about 250 pages of good stout paper, 13 by 8in. It begins in 1664.

‡ Hubbleshaw=Tumult.

§ Pinfold=Pound.

That

That none cut down any garding of spelks* but in their own ground on pain of 3 4
That none keep any by-hearth on pain of 10 0
That none take in within the Lordship any tenant that is not born within the township contrary to this order, and they that shall take in any such for want of good bond, entering to the foreman of the Jury, or to some of his fellow jurrors that such shall not be chargeable to the township according to the statute, for every month shall forfeit for the use of the poor 6 8
That none take in any inmate on pain of 6 8
That none suffer any carding or diceing or any unlawful games within their house, or meet at any time unfitting on pain of 6 8
That every household and every player at such unlawful games shall forfeit every one 3 4
That none break or carry away any of his neighbours hedges upon pain of 3 4
That none of the Jurors absent themselves from the rest of their fellow jurors after lawful warning given for meeting without lawful excuse on pain of 1 0
That no inhabitant within this township refuse to come to this Jury when they are sent for on pain of 3 4
That none leave open any Fell gate in summer on pain of 6 8
That none put any unlawful goods upon the common to pasture not any but their own, on pain of 6 8
That Fell gates and all other gates adjoining to the common be hung at the 24th March and be kept in good repair till All hallow day yearly for every gate wanting the forfeit of 3 4
That all fell fences are to be made and upheld from the 25th of March till all hallows day yearly on pain of..... ..... 6 8
That none stop any water course on pain of 3 4
That none put any goods in the lanes unless it be upon their own fronts, and they that herd them on pain of 3 4
That every householder send an able workman to the highways when commanded on pain of..... .... 1 0
That none carry the Jury to try betwixt party and party, and the dissenter give the Jury 1 0

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* Spelk=a splinter of wood; in this case it probably refers to withy grounds of willows.

That

That if any have a way over his neighbours ground to carry or recarry he shall make up the gaps again or gate as good as it was or else forfeit 3 4

That none shear any grass off his neighbours ground without leave of the owner upon pain of 3 4

That none go over his neighbours ground as an ordinary path in summer time, but where the antient path lies, on pain of 3 4

That none stop any usual footpath that of right ought to be on pain of 3 4

That none shall drive or ride horses or carts or goods over . . . . . but only on the highways on pain of 3 4

That none shall burn any ling upon the common after the last day of March neither any man's children or servants but for every such fault their father or master shall forfeit and pay 3 4

That none shall beat herd or drive away goods upon the common but their own at any time of the year upon pain to forfeit for every offence 6 8

It is ordered and confirmed that those who ever have taken in or shall hereafter take in any by-servant contrary to our order not entering bond for them, they that take them first in or theirs if need require shall maintain them at their own proper cost and charges.

That none grave above six days work of Flaws or prick sodds on pain of 6 8

That all except cottagers begin the 2nd day of May to grave peats, flaws, prick sodds, and may grave till the 13th of May for their own use and none to grave after, either for themselves to use or to sell to any tenant on pain of 6 8

We prcsent the occupiers of Stangana Moss if it be not repaired at or before the 4th day of May, and every one which doth not repair his proportion to be fined 6 8

Edward Conder.	Joseph Holme.
John Bambrigg.	James Wilson.
John Glover.	Thomas Moore.
Edward Richardson.	Thomas Otway.
George Bailey.	James Dodgson.
John Vetinson.	Richard Bland.
Richard Atkinson.	1664.

Here follows certain petty offences that were tried before the Court. The following are among them and will serve as examples.

Steward. Richard Rowlandson.

1665

1665. At a Court Baron the following fines were inflicted.

	£	s.	d.
John Wilson for refusing to swear	1	0	0
Richard Atklnson Junr. for non appearance	0	3	4
Brian Walker confili (?)	0	3	4

The Jury.

Edward Harling.	Thomas Moore.
Richard Bland.	Edward Richardson.
George Bayley.	James Dodgson.
Edward Conder.	Joseph Holme.
John Vetenson.	Christopher Conder.
Thomas Otway.	John Bainbrigge.

Sept. 24th, 1666.

(Same Jury).

Joseph Bigland doeth present Edward Baines for graving and digging of Flawes or Turfes in his sheep heafe contrary to custome. Fined 3s. 4d.

The above J. Bigland doeth present William Houseman or his Family for cutting or carrying away Brackens of Block Haw. Fined 2s.

We the Jury do order that Edward Benson nor no other person within this Lordship shall lodge or entertain a woman that is or hath been at Edward Benson's and for him or them that harbour or lodge her after notice for every hours keeping her shall forfeit

1667.

We find James Borwick to have burned many sodds to ashes for manure contrary to antient custom. Fined 6s. 8d.

We do order that the house in Old Town green of George Bayliff shall be kept for habitation of such poor people as the Hamlet shall think fit to be put there.

Edward Waller and Margaret his wife complain against Edward Richardson for XXs. debt as they will declare. We find Edward Richardson due to Edward Waller Xs.

The same against Joseph Holme for a Bible. 3s.

April 23. 1679.

John Glover admitted tenant of a parcel of land purchased by him of Christopher Conder of the yearly rent of 6s. 1d.

1685 no entries until 1730.

1750. June 28.

A list of tenants summoned to appear at Rigmaiden Hall at a Court Baron after the death of Mr. Thomas Godsalve.

Adam

Adam Dawson.	James Kilner.
John Bownass.	Thomas Winder.
Thomas Glover.	John Richardson.
John Glover.	Agnes Sheppherd.
Robert Glover.	John Thompson.
John Atkinson.	Thomas Harris.
Roger Hadwen.	Edward Conder.

At this Court all the old rules for the guidance of the manor were revised. The old rules of keeping lodgers, playing cards, dice, &c., were cut out.

Last entry in this book is in 1788.

ART. XXVI.—*An Ancient Village in Hugill.* By the President, Chancellor FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Reprinted, with corrections, from the *Manchester Guardian*, of Nov. 16, 1896.

With some Notes thereon by C. W. DYMOND, F.S.A., and H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

SOME years ago the curiosity of Mr. Addison, of Kendal, was aroused about a field on his farm at High Hugill, near Ings, in Westmorland, of which farm Mr. Addison's father then was, and had for more than twenty years been, the tenant. The field in question—a quarter of a mile nearly due north from the farmhouse of High Hugill—is enclosed by a modern stone wall. In extent it is nearly 2 acres [1a. 3r. 28p.] and is occupied by the ruins of ancient works, which have been thoroughly despoiled at some period or other to furnish materials for stone field fences. Nothing appears on the Ordnance map but the modern fence-wall of the field, and it cannot be ascertained that any name is attached to the remains. They were unknown to the late Mr. Clifton Ward, and do not appear in his list of "Archæological Remains in the Lake District."* Mr. Addison besought the assistance of the experts of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, of which he was a member, and several of them paid visits to the place. Some little excavation was made, and also a survey, from which a plan was prepared. In July, 1881, the Society visited the place; a paper by Mr. T. Wilson, the Society's secretary, was read, and Chancellor Ferguson added some remarks, pointing out that the remains were those of an ancient British village, containing several ruined hut-circles, and surrounded by a fallen wall, whose line is nearly defined

* These *Transactions*, Vol. iii., pp. 241-265.

by

by the modern fence. The plan, Mr. Wilson's paper, and the Chancellor's remarks were published in the Society's *Transactions*.* The plan, however (no blame to the surveyor, who had no previous experience in planning prehistoric remains), was not very satisfactory; it was, in fact, too ingenious, and showed rather too many hut-circles, the mistake being made of taking and completing on the plan as hut-circles sundry curvatures, turns, and corners in internal division walls and natural banks. In 1890 the editor of the *Transactions*, Chancellor Ferguson, being, on second thoughts, somewhat sceptical about this plan, induced Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., a gentleman of great experience in planning prehistoric remains,† to resurvey the Hugill remains for the Society. This he did, and his plan, with a paper, appears in the Society's *Transactions*, and may be thoroughly relied upon for accuracy.‡

The remains cover nearly two acres, and are surrounded by an ancient enclosing bank or rampart, which is shown by the edge stones remaining in various places to have been from ten to fourteen feet broad. The principal gateway is in the middle of the north-western side. It was approached by a short hollow way, screened—in military phrase, covered—by a low rocky scarp, crowned with a great heap of stones. From this entrance a passage, with openings on either hand into several enclosures, led into the interior. There were probably two other entrances in the south-western and south-eastern sides respectively, of which the last gave ready access to a spring some 65 feet from the south corner of the village. This spring would be the source from which the villagers got their water

* Vol. vi., pp. 86-90.

† See his "Worlebury, an Ancient Stronghold in the county of Somerset." Also in these *Transactions*, Cumberland Megaliths, Vol. v., pp. 39-59; Mayburgh and King Arthur's Round Table, Vol. xi., pp. 187-219; An Ancient Village near Yanwath, Vol. xi., pp. 1-5; Barnscar, *Ibid*, pp. 179-187.

‡ These *Transactions*, Vol. xii., pp. 6-14.

supply

supply. There may, perhaps, have been a fourth gate, but it is difficult to be certain. The area enclosed by the ancient boundary wall falls in level about 30 feet from the northernmost and highest corner to the south corner, the lowest; and is divided into four successive stages or shelves. (i.) First, under the scarp of the rampart is a shelving terrace about 60 feet wide, containing towards its western end a small hut-circle, about 7 feet in diameter. The lower edge of this terrace has been artifically improved and heightened so as to shelter the next stage or shelf from the north wind. (ii.) The next, or second, shelf is 90 feet broad at its western end, dwindling to a point at its eastern end; its surface is broken by several banks, one of which, a spur-shaped bank, has been improved in the earlier plan into a hut-circle of the diameter of 56 feet.* This stage, however, contains the foundations of one oblong and two circular huts of the several diameters of 18 ft., 24 ft., and 10 ft. (iii.) The third stage occupies the southern angle of the village, and contains a hut-circle 13 feet in diameter. (iv.) The fourth stage occupies the western angle, and is completely covered by the ruins of courts and hut dwellings; of these last the first plan makes out four circular ones, whereas Mr. Dymond's plan shows six, of somewhat rectangular shape—a not very material matter. The little excavation that was done when attention was first called to these remains resulted only in the discovery of calcined stones and a little charcoal. Careful search has been made for cup and ring markings; only three that could at all be ascribed to the hand of man have been discovered—three cups without rings, whose positions are noted in Mr. Dymond's plan. These three cups are rather slender evidence on which to hazard a shot as to the date of the village, particularly as

* It may have been a kraal for cattle.

this

this class of markings range in date from the bronze to the late iron age, and even into early Christian times.

These interesting remains are not the remains of a camp; the site was not selected from any military advantages it possesses; it is, in fact, dominated on three sides by rising ground or projecting knolls, within easy sling or bow shot. It was a fortified village, fortified either against hostile surprise or attacks by wild beasts. The situation may have been chosen on account of the spring of water already mentioned, and also of proximity to a large tarn, now drained, whence fish could be obtained. Mr. Dymond pointed out that the Hugill village was similar to others in various parts of England, and particularly to that of Grimspound, on Dartmoor, a village consisting of twenty-five well-built circular huts, in a squarely oval enclosure of about four acres, defended by a massive rampart of granite 10 feet in thickness, about 5 feet in height, and pierced by three gateways. As at Hugill, so at Grimspound, the inhabitants could be easily annoyed by hostile archers and slingers. The remains at Hugill were about the year 1886 menaced with destruction, to make way for the pipes of the Manchester Waterworks,* but an appeal to the authorities was most courteously received, and the village left untouched. In October, 1896, an alarm was raised that the village was in danger; more, that mischief had actually been done. An appeal for its rescue appeared in a local paper, the *Westmorland Gazette*, and letters were written to several persons likely to be able to intervene. At the suggestion of more than one archæologist, Mr. Dymond, on the 2nd of this month,† revisited the village,

* See a report in these *Transactions*, Vol. x., pp. 271-275. Also printed in Proc: S.A., 2nd Series, Vol. xii., pp, 91-94. This report, dated October, 1886, also mentions that the prehistoric settlement on Threlkeld Knott, near Keswick, "is doomed to ruin, as the cliff on which it stands is rapidly being converted into paving setts." Ten years have elapsed; the cliff is still being quarried away, and the paving setts find a ready market as fast as they can be loaded into the railway trucks.

† November, 1896.

and

and as a result reported to the President of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society that nothing was amiss; that the place was as it was in 1890, when he surveyed it. Personally, the present writer, after allowing for the enthusiasm of the earlier plan, is of opinion that the remains have not been interfered with since 1880, nor for a considerable period anterior to that date. The late Mr. Addison, who occupied the farm for over thirty years prior to 1890, part of the time as farmer, and afterwards as owner in succession to his son, was thoroughly alive to the value of these remains, and protected them during his time. The difficulty is to provide for their future protection. The estate is now in the hands of trustees, and the question arises—How far, in these days of agricultural depression, are trustees and farmers justified in omitting to bring into cultivation an acre or two of land because covered with remains which are *caviar* to the multitude, and which only an expert like Mr. Dymond can read? That recent agricultural depression is responsible for the destruction of many interesting remains working archæologists will soon find out, if they have not already done so. Is there any means of protecting for the future the Hugill village? I fear not. The Act for the Protection of Ancient Monuments is of no avail; the village is not scheduled under it, and cannot now be put under it, as the Act is a dead letter. The Treasury will not find the money necessary for its working, and the Government decline to allow ancient monuments to be voluntarily put under it. It has been suggested that a subscription should be raised and the farmer asked to sublet the field; but to whom, and for how long, and who is to periodically inspect it to see that no damage is done? And to whom is he to report? The only effectual remedy the present writer can see would be an Act of Parliament appointing County Councils protectors of such remains, with power to compensate

pensate farmers or owners, and to appoint officials, who should inspect and report once or twice a year. Competent local antiquaries would readily undertake the work for little more than out-of-pocket expenses. But there is no chance of getting such an Act passed; the compensation would deter people. What would be the compensation to be paid in case of Threlkeld Knott, mentioned in a previous footnote? The landlord of the quarry, the tenant of the quarry, and the skilled workmen would all have claims.

NOTES BY C. W. DYMOND, F.S.A.

The Editor of these *Transactions* has kindly given me an opportunity of adding to my former paper on this subject a few supplementary remarks on certain features of the works.

The Ramparts. When writing that paper—having chiefly in view Grimspound,* one of the best examples of a fortified village of this type—I expressed an opinion that it was "not very clear why these [walls] were of such great and, apparently, unnecessary thickness." There was then nothing to show that the Grimspound rampart had any other than a rectangular section—too thick for economy, and too low for protection. Nor can it yet be said that an apprehended discovery, made two years ago, by an exploring party of local antiquaries, has settled the question as to the original form of its construction. With a strong disclaimer entered by one of the party who is well qualified to form an independent opinion, the majority believe that they found evidence of the rampart having been constituted by two parallel walls separated by a passage 3 feet in width—an arrangement which seems even more inexplicable than the solid wall itself. † Assuming that the two supposed interior wall-faces

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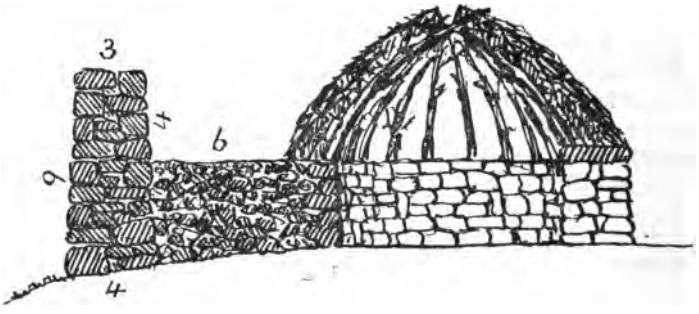
* Perhaps Greaves Ash, in Northumberland, might, in several respects, have been a better analogue; but it could not safely be cited, because I had not seen it, nor did I possess an adequate description of the details of its structure.

† Since these notes were written, I have been favoured by one of the Grimspound explorers with the following additional particulars. He says:—"The appearance of an inner and outer wall having fallen into a space in the centre is very marked. There seems to be no regular face to the *inner* sides of the walls." Again:—"I have obtained less than twenty flint arrow-heads in all the thousands of scrapers, borers, knives, flakes, chips, cores, &c., collected by me on Dartmoor. It all points to a peaceful pastoral people who required folds, not fortifications; and this, of course, increases the puzzle of the wall at Grimspound."

were

were really such, I have been led to query whether they may not indicate that the rampart was built (much after the pattern of those of Worlebury, in Somerset, and of certain camps in Wales and elsewhere, in which the original work remains more or less intact), in three contiguous, but independent, thicknesses, each 3 or 4 feet through: the outer one perhaps 9 feet high, its upper part forming a parapet; the middle one about 5 feet high, its levelled top forming a *banquette* or narrow *chemin de ronde*; the inner one 3 feet high, furnishing a step for easily mounting the rampart. Such a reconstruction gets rid of the most serious difficulties; harmonises the style of fortification with that of the great stone-built strongholds; and enables us to offer a reasonable suggestion as to what may have been the original form of the rampart at Hugill, without setting aside the evidence afforded by its best analogues. Such an hypothetical section (which must be taken for whatever it may be worth)



is shown in the illustration. It represents a parapet-wall 9 feet high on the outer face, 4 feet on the inner, and 3 or 4 feet thick, with a 6 feet walk behind it, raised a few feet above the level of the ground. Easy access to this could be gained at any point by means of a sloping bank of earth. The diagram is completed by a section of one of the huts built against the western portion of the wall. With this mode of construction, the attached huts would offer no obstacle to a free access to the wall behind them.

It is rather singular that the parts of the circuit on the higher ground, toward the north, north-east and east, are just those where the profile of the present bank is the slightest; and it is not evident why these—which, facing up the hill, ought to be much higher than they are—should have been so much more degraded than are the southern portions which, in several places, retain most of their proper height.

Huts.

Huts. The habitable huts, of which traces remain at Hugill, are but few; and the permanent population of the place must have been small. This is the chief difficulty in the way of assuming that the mural cincture was intended to be capable of defence; which implies the existence of a force sufficient to man it. A circuit of 400 yards would probably require at least 200 men and youths to defend it; and, to provide this number, the population, at the time of the attack, should number about 500 souls.

It is most probable that, as at Grimspound, in Devon, Chysoyster, in Cornwall, Tre Ceiri, in Caernarvonshire, and many other places, the walls of the huts would be about 4 feet in height; and that upon them a roof of boughs, covered with turf, would be erected.

In a note on page 9 of my paper* it was stated that "27 feet may be called the standard diameter of hut circles." This I wish to correct; for, where sizes vary so much as they do in these structures, it cannot properly be said that there is such a thing as a "standard diameter."

Cup Markings. † On the occasion of my recent visit, I looked again at these. The 2-inch cup on stone C, first noticed by the late Dr. Taylor, may be artificial. That on stone D, 6 inches in diameter, is not well formed, and part of it is broken away. Much larger than cup-marks usually are, if artificial, which is rather doubtful, it should perhaps be regarded as the remains of a small rock-basin. The cup on stone E is 2½ inches across, semi-ovoid, and so sharply edged that it is questionable whether it may not be the matrix from which a nodule has dropped out. It is very difficult to establish the artificial origin of cups when they occur singly, and in geological formations which often present natural hollows.

Recent changes. I observed only two changes since 1890; both of them in modern work. The stone pile, mentioned on page 10 of my paper, has been thrown down; and the sheep-gate in the south-western wall—probably on the site of one of the original entrances—has recently been built up with materials furnished by a small heap of stones which lay hard by against the inner face of the wall; and which has disappeared.

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* These *Transactions*, vol. xii, pp. 6-14.
† *Ibid.* p. 12.

ADDITIONAL

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY H. S. COWPER, F.S.A. *

Although these remains are not well preserved they are of considerable interest. They represent a small group of which a few other examples are to be found scattered in the district, but stand out I think quite distinct from a much larger series which cover the fells of Furness close by, and which exist I believe in considerable numbers in the higher ground of the Westmorland fells also. This larger group, as far as it is limited to the Furness hills I have described with some completeness and detail in my paper on the "Ancient Settlements, Cemeteries and Earthworks of Furness" in *Archæologia*, vol. 53, p. 409. As a rule this larger class is characterised by very rude walling, which is never of any width, homesteads of rectangular irregular shape and large attendant enclosures. They are frequently associated with innumerable sepulchral cairns which have yielded interments, which with probability belong to the bronze age.

Of the class to which the Hugill site belongs, however, the sites are few in number, or at any rate but few have been noted. Among these we should notice first one at Kirkby Lonsdale, where we find an ovate enclosure containing two-thirds of an acre contained within a wall about 7 feet wide, the foundations of which consisted of stones set on end. Within the enclosure we find the same curved, rectangular, or meandering lines of division. †

The next site with which we may compare Hugill, is that called Urswick stone walls near Ulverston, a full description of which will be found in the paper in the *Archæologia* by myself.‡ Here again we get in the enclosures a combination of rectangular and ovate forms, the enclosure wall built in the same way 10 feet thick, and the lines of interior wall divisions as well as the hut circles.

To the same class also appear to belong the enclosures at Holmbank and Birkrigg,§ both of which are contained by single ramparts or walls, that of the former being again 10-14 feet in width, and containing a hut circle.

My own opinion is that this small group is analogous in character to the Celtic cashels described so carefully in Anderson's "Scotland in Early Christian times, 1879," to which, in plan, they are remarkably similar. These cashels were of Pagan origin, but in Scotland

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* Mr. Cowper's notes are extracted from his Report to the Society of Antiquaries, as Local Secretary for Westmorland.

† See the paper (with plan) by Canon Ware (The Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness in vol. vii. *Transactions* Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.

‡ *Archæologia*, vol. 43, p. 409.

§ *Id.* p. 396.

often

often had grafted into them, at a later date, a Christian settlement and church. It would appear, however, probable that such sites are part Roman, and at any rate a later type than the numerous ones I have alluded to which cover the wilder and more distant parts of the fells.

After reading Chancellor Ferguson's article in the *Manchester Guardian* of Nov. 16th, I was shocked to read in the papers, the reputed destruction of certain stone avenues, hut circles, and menhirs on Dartmoor, the work it is said of the contractors of the Newton Rural District Council, for the repair of roads. This new danger is, in my opinion, a far more living one towards our lesser early sites, than any destruction by farmers. In country districts at present, the road Surveyors appointed by the Parish and District Councils, are energetic men, with absolute ignorance as a rule of all archæology, and anxious to get stone wherever they can for road repair. In many districts hill roads pass through deserted tracts which abound with early settlements, burial cairns, and small stone circles, or standing stones. Such as these will I fear be considered fair game for destruction and blasting by the road Surveyor for his purposes. In many cases no doubt he will be ignorant as to the origin of the material he uses, and often when he has to apply for leave to a landowner, it will be found that the latter is either equally so, or else is quite heedless as to their destruction. In other cases where roads cross unenclosed moors and commons, such remains will probably be attacked without any leave being considered necessary.

In view of the danger, which, it appears to me, now seriously menaces a large and little known class of early remains throughout the whole of England; I think it would be worth while the consideration of the Society of Antiquaries if some memorandum could not be laid before the proper authorities, whereby the County, Parish, and Rural District Councils could be urged to enforce upon their surveyors the great necessity for care, and, if possible, to devise some scheme by which qualified persons might be asked to inspect where necessary, in order that any such demolition might be reported to the local Antiquarian Societies, who would no doubt in all cases intervene and do all in their power to prevent such vandalism.

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1889 Le Fleming, Stanley Hughes, Rydal Hall, Ambleside 1895

1895 Lehmann u Stage, Copenhagen 225
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